



ROBERT DUDLEY.  
Earl of LEICESTER &c.

from the original portrait

G. Vertue Sculp.





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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
R O B E R T

Earl of *Leicester*, <sup>K</sup> *Dudley*

The FAVOURITE of  
Queen ELIZABETH:

Drawn from original WRITERS  
and RECORDS.

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L O N D O N :

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ly distinguished  
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Davis in London-Garden.

# THE PREFACE.

THE reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was not more eminently distinguished by the bright example of her own virtues, than by the conduct and capacity of her ministers. Born with a genius, superior to the common race of Princes, she gave the earliest marks of her abilities to govern, by the choice she made of fit persons to be employ'd in the management of her affairs. If ever partiality and affection seem to have oversway'd her judgment, 'twas in the case of the Earl of *Leicester*, upon whom she pour'd wealth and honours with so liberal a hand, as to make him at once the envy of her

great men at home, and the admiration of all her neighbouring Princes abroad. And yet, were we to form an idea of his merit from the general accounts that have been transmitted to us, we should find little amiable in his character, but his person and address, which should seem to have been too weak inducements to procure the favour of so wise a Princess.

*Parsons*, or whoever else was the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, has drawn together an heap of the blackest enormities, that the most malicious imagination could invent, to lay to his charge. View him in the light that he has represented him, and he will appear to have been a monster of ingratitude and treachery, dissimulation and pride, irreligion and injustice, aggravated with the



the repeated commission of adultery and murder, without the least intermixture of one good quality. But as many of his calumnies are evidently to be disprov'd, this discovery must bring a discredit upon the rest of his performance, and render the whole narrative at least uncertain. And as he is farther<sup>a</sup> said to have been supply'd with materials from the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, this may furnish us with another reason to suspect his veracity.

Indeed, *Parsons* himself seems to have been so thoroughly convinc'd of the falshoods contain'd in it, as to have been asham'd of the com-

<sup>a</sup> *The Life of F. Parsons, by Dr. James, &c. p. 55. &c. See Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 361.*



position. For when <sup>b</sup> *Sutcliffe* had objected to him, that he was author of certain infamous tracts, and among the rest of this Libel against the Earl of *Leicester*, he endeavours to evade the charge by an ambiguous answer. And tho' the style and manner of writing, compared with his other discourses, the testimony of divers priests in *England*, and the confession of some of his friends, were urg'd as so many convincing proofs of the fact alledg'd, yet he never was brought publickly to acknowledge it; and <sup>c</sup> accordingly we find it omitted in the catalogues given us of his works by *Pitseus* and *Ribadineira*. <sup>d</sup> It appears to have

<sup>b</sup> *A full and round answer to N. D. alias Rob. Parsons the Noddie, his foolish and rude Warnword, &c. by M. Sutcliffe, p. 243, 339.*

<sup>c</sup> *Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 361.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid. col. 360.*

been

been written about the year 1584. but when it was first printed is not certain. The impression was made abroad, and the copies being sent into *England* bound, in green-colour'd leaves, the book was commonly named *F. Parsons's Green-coat*.

It may seem strange, as the Earl of *Leicester* was a profess'd encourager of learning, and the great favourite of the Queen, that amongst all his followers no pen should be employ'd to vindicate his reputation, and wipe off the aspersions contain'd in this invective. And the best account I can give of the matter, is either to suppose their silence was owing to their contempt of a writer, who had so openly deliver'd falsehoods; or that they judg'd it disreputable to remove part of the calumny, without being able  
to

to enter upon an entire justification. For after all it must be confess'd, that part of the charge seems but too capable of being well supported, and that my Lord of *Leicester* was a very bad man, with many great accomplishments.

Nor has *Parsons* been the only writer of those times, who has taken upon him to derogate from his character. The part he acted in the *Low-Countries*, his disagreement with the great men there, and the open attempts he made to subvert the new establishment, and settle the Government of the *Netherlands* upon himself, appear to have made so deep an impression upon the *Dutch* historians, that they have not spar'd to vilify him with odious, and sometimes undeserv'd, imputations, as tho' in their opinion the reputation of their own countrymen was to rise

rise in proportion to the discredit of his Lordship: Whilst *Strada* in his partiality to the *Spaniard*, will not allow him the merit of any one great action, during the whole of his administration. And the same spirit of detraction seems to have had too great a share even in the writings of our own Mr. *Camden*, who upon all occasions has discover'd a malignity of disposition towards his Lordship, which would otherwise have been unaccountable, if we had not been inform'd by himself, \* that his history was chiefly drawn up from memorials and records, communicated to him by the Lord High Treasurer *Burleigh*, who, as he was the Earl of *Leicester's* avow'd antagonist, whilst he was living, does not appear to have been over-wil-

\* *Preface to the Hist. of Queen Elizabeth.*

ling to do honour to his memory, after his decease.

And here, upon the mention of my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, it may not be amiss to observe, that tho' the Queen upon so many occasions express'd her affection and regard to the Earl of *Leicester*, yet he never appears to have been entirely absolute in her favour. For no efforts could ever avail to remove his enemies from those posts of honour and advantage, to which her Majesty's goodness out of wise considerations had once advanc'd them. The Earl of *Suffex* and my Lord *Burleigh* enjoy'd her friendship and esteem, 'till the day of their deaths, notwithstanding his Lordship's known aversion to them both. And to give the Reader a private instance of her behaviour, I shall



I shall relate the following story<sup>f</sup> from  
*Sir Robert Naunton*.

*Bowyer*, a gentleman of the black rod, was order'd by an express command not to admit any into the Privy-chamber, but such as were well known, or were sworn servants to the Queen. Among the rest, a well-drest Gentleman, and a dependent upon the Earl of *Leicester*, was refus'd admittance; who relying upon his Lordship's favour, told him, he might repent of what he had done, for perhaps he might procure his discharge. In the midst of the contest my Lord of *Leicester* accidentally came up, and interposing in the quarrel, told *Bowyer* he was a knave, and should not long continue in his office. And then turning about to go in to the Queen,

<sup>f</sup> Naunton's *Fragm. Regal.* p. 165.

*Bowyer*



*Bowyer* steps in before him, 'throws himself at her Majesty's feet, tells the whole story as it pass'd, and begs leave to know of her Grace, whether my Lord of *Leicester* was King, or her Majesty was Queen. " God's death, my Lord," says the Queen, ('twas her usual oath) " I " have wish'd you well, but my " favour is not so confin'd to you, " that others shall not share it with " your self. I have many servants, " to whom I will shew counte- " nance, and resume my regards at " pleasure. And if you think to " bear rule here, I shall take an ef- " fectual method to prevent you. " I will have but one Mistress and " no master; and see that no harm " happen to him, for I will severe- " ly requite it at your hands." Up- on which, the historian remarks, my Lord of *Leicester's* spirit was so far

far brought down, that his feign'd humility was one of his best virtues for a long time after.

'Tis certain however, that presuming upon her Majesty's inclination towards him, he would sometimes exceed the bounds of decency, and behave with indiscretion and insolence. § *Osborn* relates, that his incivilities were once carried to such a length, as to draw a blow from a Privy-counsellor in her Majesty's presence; and that when the Queen cry'd out, "you have forfeited your hand," the other gravely answer'd, "he hop'd her Majesty would suspend her judgment, 'till the traitor, who better deserv'd it, had lost his head." And from this instance he infers, he must have had great reason to rely upon the Queen's

§ *Hist. Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, &c.* p. 388.

favour,

favour, or he could not have ventur'd upon so great a liberty.

To conclude, I have neither endeavour'd to advance his merits, or extenuate his faults. I have strove to do justice to his character, where I thought him injur'd, and have not been wanting to lay open his irregularities, where the charge has been founded upon a just evidence. The vices, no less than the virtues, of mankind are set before us for our Instruction; and the mistakes of others, if duly attended to, cannot but contribute to our own improvement, as it is of equal consequence to learn what we ought to avoid, as what we should pursue.



T H E

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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
R O B E R T  
Earl of *Leicester*,

The FAVOURITE of  
Queen *ELIZABETH*.

L ORD *Robert Dudley* was the fifth son of *John Duke of Northumberland*, by *Jane* the daughter and heir of *Sir Edward Guilford*. He was grandson to <sup>a</sup> *Sir Edmund Dudley*,  
ley,

<sup>a</sup> In the monumental inscription over the Tombstone of *Ambrose Earl of Warwick*, the brother to *Robert Earl of Leicester*, this *Sir Edmund Dudley*  
B is

## THE LIFE OF ROBERT,

*ley*, Privy-Counsellor to King *Henry* the VII<sup>th</sup>, whom our Historians join with Sir *Richard Empson*, as the Ministers of his Majesty's injustice and extortion, and who both were afterwards made a sacrifice to the fury of the people by King *Henry* the VIII<sup>th</sup>, and publickly executed in the first year of his reign. Under King *Edward* the VI<sup>th</sup> he came to Court,

is said to have been descended from the line of the Lord *Dudley*: John *Dudley Esquire*, second sonne to John Lord *Dudley and Knight of the Garter*, married Elizabeth daughter and heire of John *Bramshot Esquier*, and had issue Edmund *Duddeley*. But in *Erdswike's View of Staffordshire*, there is a different account given of his genealogy; and this *John Dudley* is reported to have been a Carpenter, born in the town of *Dudley*, from whence he deriv'd his name, and travelling for a livelihood, was entertain'd by the Monks of *Lewis in Suffex*, where he married, and continued Carpenter to the house. But 'tis very unlikely, as Sir *William Dugdale* has observ'd, that Sir *Edmund Dudley's* father should have been a Carpenter, from his having married a Lady of such family and fortune, as was one of the daughters and co-heirs of *John Bramshot, Esq;* who was seiz'd of the manors of *Gatton, Calbourne, and Whitwell in the Isle of Wight, as also of Bramshot in Hantshire*. From whence he concludes, that he was a Gentleman, tho' perhaps not of the Baron of *Dudley's* line. See the *Antiquity of Warwickshire illustrated*, &c. p. 357, 336.

and



and <sup>b</sup> was made one of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber. *After whose entertainment into a place of so near service,* <sup>c</sup> Sir John Hayward observes, *the King enjoy'd his health not long.* Upon King Edward's death, he engaged with his father, in defence of the Lady Jane Grey, attended upon him in his expedition into Norfolk, but upon his arrest at Cambridge fled to the Queen's camp, from whence he was <sup>d</sup> brought up prisoner to London, and confin'd in the Tower, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, 1553. and on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January following, <sup>e</sup> was arraign'd of High Treason at the Guild-Hall of London, confess'd the indictment, and was adjudg'd by the Earl of Sussex to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd. <sup>f</sup> But the

<sup>b</sup> Camden's *History of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 419.

<sup>c</sup> *The Life and Reign of K. Edw. VI.* p. 310.

<sup>d</sup> Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation, in the Life of Q. Mary*, p. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Stow's *Chronicle, augmented by Edm. Howes, &c.* p. 618.

<sup>f</sup> Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation, in the Life of Q. Mary*, p. 18. His restitution was by an Act of Parliament, 4 & 5 *Phil. & Mar.* entituled, *A Bill of restitution of Sir Ambrose Dudley, Sir Robert Dudley, Mary Sidney, and Lady Katharine Hastings, children of the late Earl of Northumberland.*



Lords interceded for him with the Queen, who gave way to their entreaty, restor'd him and his brethren in blood, except only the Lord *Guilford*, receiv'd him into favour, and made him <sup>s</sup> Master of the *English* Ordnance at the siege of St. *Quintins*.

He is said to have been furnish'd with all possible advantages both of body and mind. <sup>h</sup> His person was comely, and well-proportion'd, his countenance open and liberal, his behaviour affable and engaging; and to these were added a graceful action and delivery, and such an absolute command of temper, that he could naturally adapt himself to every man's humour or designs, as he saw occasion. But lust and ambition were his prevailing passions, and he stands charg'd with having practis'd the most horrid and almost incredible villanies,

<sup>s</sup> Camden's *Hist of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 419. Stow's *Annals*, &c. p. 631. Holingshead's *Chronicle*, &c. p. 1133.

<sup>h</sup> Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 473. Naunton's *Fragm. Regal.* p. 182.

## EARL OF LEICESTER.

that he might obtain the gratification of his inordinate desires.

Queen *Elizabeth* was too distinguishing a Princess, not to be sensible of his accomplishments, and accordingly, as soon as she ascended the Throne, she advanc'd him to the highest honours, and gave him the earliest marks of her friendship and affection. <sup>i</sup> She express'd such an inclination towards him, that some have imputed her regard to the influence of the Heavens at their nativity, and that hidden conjunction of the stars, which the *Greek* Astrologers call *Synastria*. She made him Master of the Horse in the first year of her reign, and <sup>k</sup> chose him, to the admiration

<sup>i</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 45. & lib. 3. p. 419.

<sup>k</sup> By the Statutes of Institution, whoever is admitted into the Order of the Garter, is to be a *Knight without reproach*. But as the points of reproach might be liable to dispute, to prevent all misconstructions, King *Henry VIII.* had confin'd 'em to three, and one of these was *Attainure of Treason*. Now Lord *Robert Dudley* had been arraign'd, convicted and attainted. But the Queen's affection remov'd this difficulty, and a decree was

tion of all men, into the Order of the Garter, with the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Rutland*.

made in the Chapter held at the *Tower*, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *January*, by which it was order'd, That in case any Gentleman so convicted was pardon'd by his Prince, and restor'd in blood, and was otherwise qualified according to the ancient Statutes of the Order, he should from thenceforward be accounted capable of being chosen a Companion. *Decretum est, si quis ex familia nobili aut generosa procreatus, cujus uterque parens, avus & proavus, generosi fuerint, lese majestatis vel antehac condemnatus est, vel posthac condemnabitur, si ei post eam condemnationem à principe ignoscatur, ita ut ad familie sue beneficium, insignia, & dignitatem restituatur, talibus ortus majoribus, quales antea notati sunt, sitque hujusmodi, qualem ejus ordinis leges & instituta describunt, ut is deinceps ordinis nobilissimi capax sit, & in ejus comilitonum adlegi & coaptari rite possit.* Lib. C. p. 29. And thus, at the next St. George's feast, Lord Robert Dudley was elected into this most illustrious Society. See *Ashmole's Institution*, &c. of the Order of the Garter, ch. 9. ff. 12. p. 287. He was install'd into the Order, with the others elected with him, on the 3<sup>d</sup> of *June*, by the Earl of *Pembroke*, Viscount *Montacute*, and Lord *Hastings*; and Mr. *Anstis* informs me, there is this Entry in the Register: *Sed quoniam in verba usitata & solita jurare non potuerunt, mutatis jam rei divina ritibus & ceremoniis, ex illustris comitis & associorum auctoritate constitutum est, ut juraturi interim promitterent se ordinis instituta servaturos eo modo & forma, qua à serenissima Regina & commilitonibus proximo concilio advocando statueretur.*

Encourag'd

Encourag'd by these favours from the Queen, he flatter'd himself with the most presuming hopes, and gave into an opinion, that could he once get rid of his wife, who was still alive, he need not despair of soon rendring himself agreeable to her Majesty. In this thought the <sup>1</sup>Lady is dispatch'd into the country, to the house of one of his dependents, at *Commere*, not far from *Abingdon*, where 'tis said he first attempted to have her taken off by poison; but failing in this design, he caus'd her to be thrown down from the top of a staircase, and murder'd by the fall. She was at first obscurely buried at *Commere*; but the privacy of her funeral having given occasion to censure, he order'd that her body should be taken up, and remov'd to the University-Church of *Oxford*, where she was buried again with all imaginable pomp and solemnity.

<sup>1</sup> *Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, &c.* p. 30, 45, 46. See also *Wood's Athenæ Oxon. &c.* col. 166. And *Osborne's Hist. Memoirs on the reign of Q. Eliz. &c.* p. 388.



Sir *Richard Verney*, at my Lord's commandment, is said to have been the chief actor in this tragedy. He was assisted by a villain, who being afterwards apprehended for a crime of another nature, confess'd the fact in prison, and was privately made away. And Sir *Richard Verney* himself is reported to have died about the same time, in a most deplorable manner. 'Tis also urg'd, that Mrs. *Butler*, the wife to a near relation of Lord *Robert Dudley's*, confirm'd the story by her testimony, not long before her death. And farther, 'tis alledg'd, that Dr. *Babington*, Lord *Robert's* Chaplain, as he was preaching her funeral-fermon, at her second interment, in the University-Church, let fall certain expressions, which argued a consciousness of the fact, by recommending to the memory of his audience the virtuous Lady *so pitifully murder'd*; instead of *so piteously slain*.

Lord *Robert* in the mean time meets with a more favourable reception than ever from the Queen; the management  
of

of all affairs is principally entrusted to him, and tho' she did not openly countenance his pretensions, yet she seems not to have been at all displeas'd with the overture. <sup>m</sup> She frankly declar'd to the *Scotish* Embassador, Sir *James Melvil*, that she look'd upon him as her brother, and her best friend, and that had she ever design'd to have married, her inclination would have led her to make choice of him for her husband. And some time after, when <sup>n</sup> Monsieur *de Castelnau*, the Embassador of *France*, was pressing this match, by orders from the *French* Court, she told him, that if the Earl of *Leicester* had been descended of a Royal Family, she would have readily consented to the motion he had made in his Master's name, but she could never resolve to marry with a subject of her own, or to raise a dependent into a companion.

Inferiority of birth appears indeed to

<sup>m</sup> Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 47.

<sup>n</sup> Memoires de Monf. de Castelnau, &c. liv. 5. chap. 13. p. 186.



have been the great objection on her Majesty's side. ° She had been heard to say, What judgment could foreign powers, and the King of *Spain* in particular, pass upon her actions, if she should prefer a private subject to the first Princes of *Europe*, who had sought her in marriage? And *Strada*<sup>p</sup> reports from the original letters of the King of *Spain* and his Minister, that Lord *Robert*, being sensible of the difficulties he labour'd under upon this score, had secretly practis'd with the *Spanish* Ambassador, to engage his Master in his interest, and promis'd the restoration of the *Romish* Religion in *England*, if by his mediation the affair should be brought to an happy conclusion.

1564. Envy and emulation are the sure attendants upon greatness, and Lord *Robert*, by being thus distinguish'd above the rest in her Majesty's favour, had drawn upon himself the disinclination of the Courtiers. Among others, Se-

° Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 474.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid.

cretary *Cecil*, either thro' a jealousy of his power, or for some private dislike to his person, was become his secret enemy; and to prevent his growing absolute, is said to have contriv'd the following stratagem to ruin him. The Queen of *Scots* was not long since return'd into her own country out of *France*, upon the death of her husband the late King. As she was without distinction one of the most accomplish'd Princesses of her age, propositions of marriage were made to her from all parts of *Europe*. The King of *Sweden* had sent an honourable embassy into *Scotland* upon this occasion; *Philip II.* of *Spain* had demanded her for his son *Don Carlos*; and her uncle the Cardinal of *Guise*, had with pressing instances propos'd of late the Archduke *Charles* of *Austria*, and offer'd her the county of *Tirol* in dowry. *Cecil*, upon this

<sup>a</sup> Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 51.

<sup>r</sup> Conæi Vit. M. Stuart. inter scriptores de vita Scot. Reg. Vol. 2. p. 22. Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 8. p. 555. Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. lib. 1. p. 67.

occasion,

occasion, suggests to Queen *Elizabeth* the inconvenience such a foreign alliance with the *Scottish* Queen might bring upon the Religion and Realm of *England*; he advises her to make a proposal of a match from hence, and recommends the offer of the Lord *Robert Dudley*. The Crown of *Scotland* in possession, and the right of inheritance to the Crown of *England*, was an alluring bait to Lord *Robert's* ambition; and the Secretary knew, that should he be overearnest in the pursuit of the match propos'd, he would be infallibly lost in the good graces of the Queen, who could bear no rival in the affection of her Favourite; and he was under no apprehension, from the known temper of the Queen of *Scots*, that a person of Lord *Robert's* extraction could ever render himself acceptable to her.

Queen *Elizabeth*, whether influenc'd by a design to make trial of Lord *Robert's* inclination, <sup>f</sup> or that she intended, if

<sup>f</sup> Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 474.  
Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 68, 75.

the Queen of *Scots* had been gain'd into a consent, to have married him herself with the greater credit; or that she meant by this artifice to form delays, and prevent the *Scotish* Queen from marrying at all, gave ear to the Secretary's suggestion, and <sup>t</sup> sent immediate instructions to Mr. *Randolph* her Embassador in *Scotland*, to dissuade the alliance with the House of *Austria*. She order'd him to let the Queen of *Scots* know, that if she married with the Archduke *Charles*, misunderstandings would of necessity arise, the harmony between them be disturb'd, and all hopes of her succession to the Crown of *England* be entirely cut off; she rather wish'd some *English* Nobleman might not be disagreeable to her, upon whose fidelity her Majesty could rely, and be induced by this means to declare in her favour. And with these instructions, she sent him a secret commission to the Earl of *Murray* and Secretary *Lidington*, to propose Lord *Robert Dudley*.

<sup>t</sup> Camden, *ibid.* p. 67. Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 40. *seq.*

This

† This overture was coldly receiv'd by the Queen of *Scots*; she resolv'd to reject the offer'd marriage, but fear'd to come to an open rupture with Queen *Elizabeth*. However, some angry letters pass'd upon the occasion, which serv'd only to kindle jealousies, and interrupt the union, which hitherto seem'd to have been form'd between the two Crowns. Under these difficulties, the Queen of *Scots* dispatch'd Sir *James Melvil* to *London*, with instructions full of friendliness and regard, in which she complains of her Majesty's unbenevolent disposition towards her; endeavours to remove the misconstructions which had been made of her late actions, and desires Commissioners may be appointed to compose all differences between 'em.

Queen *Elizabeth*\* express'd her satisfaction in the embassy, and immediately enquir'd if the Queen of *Scots* had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage she had made her by Mr. *Randolph*.

† Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 42. *seq.*

\* Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 46, 47.



The Embassador answer'd according to his instructions, that his Mistress thought little of it, and expected the meeting of her Majesty's Commissioners upon the borders, with the Earl of *Murray* and Secretary *Lidington*, to confer upon all matters of such importance as might concern the interest of the two Kingdoms, and her Majesty's satisfaction. The Queen then enter'd upon the commendation of Lord *Robert Dudley*, declar'd she would have marry'd him her self, if she had not been determin'd to end her days in virginity; and as the Queen her sister did not lie under the same circumstances of restraint, there was none she could recommend to her so deserving her affection; that this match would remove all future animosity and dissatisfaction from between 'em, for she was fully assur'd of his fidelity and truth, and that nothing detrimental to her Kingdom could ever be attempted by him; and farther, to convince the Queen his Mistress of the regard she bore him, she was purpos'd to advance him to the highest

highest honours, and create him Earl of *Leicester*, and Baron of *Denbigh*, before his departure.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of *September* <sup>y</sup> he was created Baron of *Denbigh*, and the day following Earl of *Leicester*. The creation was perform'd with great solemnity, and the Queen her self assisted at the ceremony. And not long after, <sup>z</sup> upon the resignation of Sir *J. Mason*, he was made Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*.

In the mean time, his Lordship was not idle: He was sensible of the difficulties he had to struggle with upon this occasion, and labour'd by all possible means to prevent 'em. He seem'd rather to decline the match, than to desire it, <sup>a</sup> excus'd himself to the *Scotish* Embassador, from having ever entertain'd so proud a pretence, declar'd his sense of his own unworthiness, and threw the

<sup>y</sup> Dugdale's *Antiq. of Warwickshire illustrated*, &c. p. 165. Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 1. p. 73. See the Appendix, Num. 1.

<sup>z</sup> *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. p. 426. seq.

<sup>a</sup> Melvil's *Memoirs*, &c. p. 51.

blame of the whole business upon the secret enmity of Secretary *Cecil*, who sought, by this expedient, to supplant him in the favour of both the Queens. He beg'd her Majesty would not be offended, nor impute this matter to him, which the malice of his enemies had devis'd against him.

Within a few days after, <sup>b</sup> Sir *James Melvil* obtain'd his dispatch from Secretary *Cecil*, with a more ample declaration of the Queen's mind, upon the subject of his embassy. She own'd, she had conceiv'd some displeasure against the Queen of *Scots*, upon occasion of the angry letter. And this, she said, was heighten'd by her disdain of the best good she had to offer, the man whom she lov'd as her brother. But as she had now open'd all her griefs to her by her Ambassador, she hop'd for a more friendly correspondence hereafter, and the continuance of all kind offices. And to this end she promis'd to send

<sup>b</sup> Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 51, 52.

her Commissioners shortly to the borders, to meet with the Earl of *Murray* and *Lidington*.

The Earl of *Leicester* at the same time<sup>c</sup> wrote letters to the Earl of *Murray*, to excuse him to the Queen. <sup>d</sup> And that he might the more recommend himself to her Majesty's favour, he accus'd Sir *Nicholas Bacon* the Lord Keeper to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he had intermeddled in the affair of the succession, and assisted in the publication of a book against the Queen of *Scots* title. The Queen was highly offended, the author, *Hales*, was taken up and imprison'd, and Sir *Nich. Bacon* would have infallibly lost his office, if my Lord of *Leicester* could have persuaded Sir *Anthony Brown* to have accepted it.

In *November* following, the Earl of *Bedford* and Mr. *Randolph*, the Earl of *Murray* and Secretary *Lidington*, the Commissioners on both sides, met near

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 51.

<sup>d</sup> Wood's *Athen. Oxon. &c.* col. 139. Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 73.

*Berwick*, to treat of the marriage, <sup>e</sup>*but with slenderer offers, and less effectual dealing, than was expected.* The Earl of *Leicester's* behaviour, and the prudence and discretion, which appear'd in the letters he had written to the Earl of *Murray*, had made an impresson upon the Queen of *Scots*, and she seem'd so far to approve of the match, that Queen *Elizabeth* began to be afraid it might take effect. Under these apprehensions, and at the sollicitation of Secretary *Cecil*, she gave leave to my Lord *Darnley* to take a journey into *Scotland*, in hopes, that his presence might be more prevalent than *Leicester's* absence. And the <sup>f</sup> Earl of *Leicester*, perceiving the Queen's inclination, wrote private letters to the Earl of *Bedford*, to desist from prosecuting the affair any farther.

<sup>e</sup> Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 53.

<sup>f</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 75. See also Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation, in the Life of Q. Eliz.* p. 169. where he writes, that my Lord of *Leicester* privately engag'd Mr. *Randolph*, the English Resident in *Scotland*, to oppose the marriage.



1565. Tho' Secretary *Cecil* advis'd the departure of the Lord *Darnley* into *Scotland*, he does not appear to have favour'd his marriage with the Queen of *Scots*. § His design was evidently to keep her unmarried as long as he could, and he sought only by this means to break off the match with the Earl of *Leicester*. He judg'd, that Lord *Darnley* would have been afraid to proceed without Queen *Elizabeth's* consent, as he was possess'd of a considerable estate in *England*, which would all be confiscated, in case he should disobey her Majesty's commands. But the Queen of *Scots* was not to be put off by any longer delays; and as he was next to her self in the succession to the Crown of *England*, she was led both by motives of inclination and interest, to think of him for a husband. She signified her intention to Queen *Elizabeth* by Secretary *Lidington*, and desir'd that her marriage with the Lord *Darnley* might not be unacceptable to her.

§ Melvil's Memoirs, &c. p. 53.

The Earl of *Murray*, who easily foresaw that if this marriage took effect, his administration was at an end, used his utmost efforts to set it aside. <sup>h</sup> He suggested to the Ministers of *England*, that the match with the Lord *Darnley* was embraced by the Queen of *Scots* upon no other views, <sup>i</sup> than to strengthen her title to the Crown of *England*, to resume her former claim, and restore the *Romish* Religion. So that when Queen *Elizabeth* laid the matter before her Council, they were all in general prepossess'd against it. They urg'd, that it was disserviceable to the Protestant Interest, and dangerous to the State; that many would incline to the Queen of *Scots* from the assur'd hope of succession by the children of this marriage; and that others would adhere to her from their affection to the Church of *Rome*.

<sup>h</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 76.

<sup>i</sup> See also *Q. Elizabeth's Instructions to Sir H. Norris, her Embassador in France, in Sir D. Digges's Compleat Embassador, &c.* p. 13.

<sup>k</sup> This furnish'd my Lord of *Leicester* with a favourable opportunity of renewing at once his pretensions to Queen *Elizabeth*, and of serving his friends of the Puritan party, whom he had not long since taken into his protection. 'Twas advis'd, that the Queen should be sollicitated to marry out of hand, that the tranquillity of the Nation might depend upon her Majesty and the certainty of the Crown's descending to her posterity; and farther, that the cause of the Reformation might be advanc'd and supported, by discouraging on the one hand the Professors of the *Romish* Religion, and by shewing favour and moderation on the other to such Protestant Ministers as were not conformable to the Rites and Ceremonies establish'd in the Church.

<sup>l</sup> Ever since the reign of King *Ed.*

<sup>k</sup> Heylin's *Hist. of the Reformation*, in the *Life of Q. Eliz.* p. 170. Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 76.

<sup>l</sup> Collier's *Eccles. Hist. &c.* Vol. 2. p. 320, 393, 493. Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 239, 241.

ward VI. certain foreign Divines had sought to engage in the *English* Reformation, and had so far influenc'd the King and Council, as to procure a review of the first reform'd Liturgy, and prevail for an alteration. In the reign of Queen *Mary*, the Refugees, who had fled from the persecution, and settled at *Frankfort*, had made large advances towards the *Geneva* Service, and refus'd to officiate by the *English* Common-Prayer-Book. And upon Queen *Elizabeth's* advancement, and their return into their own countrey, they made it their business to inveigh against the establish'd worship, and endeavour'd to introduce the *Geneva* model. The Ecclesiastical Habit, the square Cap, Surplice and Tippet, fell under their displeasure, and were censur'd as compliances with Popery.

<sup>m</sup> In the beginning of the last year, the Queen had wrote to the Archbishop

<sup>m</sup> Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, lib. 2. cap. 19, 20. p. 154. *seqq.* Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* &c. Vol. 2. p. 494. *seqq.*

of *Canterbury*, requiring him and the other Commissioners in ecclesiastical causes to use effectual means for the preventing these disagreements in Religion, and restoring an uniformity in Worship. And the Dissenters being now apprehensive they should be prosecuted with rigour, *Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Whittingham* Dean of *Durham*, who favour'd their interest, had made application to the Earl of *Leicester* in their behalf. But the Commissioners, receiving no countermand to their former directions, proceeded to draw up certain articles or ordinances, which were afterwards entitled *Advertisements*, for conformity in habits, and to put a stop to these disorders. Yet when these Advertisements were laid before the Council, by my Lord of *Leicester's* active sollicitation, the Queen refus'd to ratify 'em, tho' drawn up by her exprefs direction. And now,<sup>n</sup> whilst

<sup>n</sup> Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, lib. 6. p. 250. *Hist. of the Reformation, in the Life of Q. Eliz.* p. 170.



the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* with the Lord *Darnley* was in agitation, 'twas judg'd proper to abate of the severity us'd towards 'em, and to grant 'em an indulgence, that if any attempt should be form'd to disturb the quiet of the Kingdom, they might be made use of as a counter-balance to the Popish Party.

Queen *Elizabeth*, upon this occasion, ° sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to the Queen of *Scots*, to remind her, “ that she ought long to deliberate upon what could once only be resolv'd on, that repentance was sure to attend upon an hasty marriage, and that a match with her aunt's son was forbidden by the Canon Law;” and farther, she gave him instructions to recommend again the Earl of *Leicester* to her choice. But this embassy prov'd of no effect, and the Queen of *Scots*, with the consent of the majority of the Estates, was soon after solemnly P married

° Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. i. p. 77.

P Buchan. rer. *Scotic.* lib. XVII. p. 342.

to the Lord *Darnley*, in the Royal Chapel at *Holyrood-House*, and the next day he was publickly proclaim'd King, and associated with her Majesty in the Government.

The marriage being thus compleated, an application was again made to Queen *Elizabeth* to think seriously of a husband, by this means to weaken the party of the Queen of *Scots* in *England*, and to strengthen the interest of the Protestant Religion. The Emperor *Maximilian* propos'd his brother the Archduke *Charles*, with the offer of very honourable conditions. The Earl of *Sussex* favour'd the match ; but my Lord of *Leicester*, presuming upon his own power with the Queen, took pains to prevent it. This opposition, from a person of inferior birth, who could only name two Ancestors, and both of 'em executed for treason, was ill digested by the Earl of *Sussex*, who was of an high spirit, and nobly descended. The

<sup>a</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 78. *seq.*

honesty of his nature led him to an open and profess'd enmity, which divided the whole Court into factions, and whenever the two Earls went abroad, they were attended with a large retinue of arm'd followers, carrying swords and bucklers, with iron pikes pointing out at the bosses, to defend 'em from any envious assault; insomuch that the Queen was oblig'd to interpose her authority, and within a few days her Majesty made up the breach for this time. ' But my Lord of *Sussex* continued his aversion till his death, and in his last sickness is said to have address'd his friends to this purpose; " I am now " passing into another world, and must

' In the Instructions given by Sir *Robert Melvil*, the Queen of *Scots* Embassador in *England*, to his brother Sir *James*, upon his return into *Scotland*, this dissension is ascrib'd to the secret practice of Secretary *Cecil*. *The Secretary Cecil devised strange practices against the meeting, which because my Lord of Leicester discover'd unto the Queen his Mistress, Cecil stirred up the Earl of Sussex to forge a quarrel against him, but the Queen took the Earl of Leicester's part, and finally agreed 'em.* See Sir *James Melvil's* Memoirs, &c. p. 72.

' Nauntou's *Fragm. Regal.* p. 185.

" leave

“ leave you to your fortunes, and to  
 “ the Queen’s grace and goodness; but  
 “ beware of the Gypsie (meaning  
*Leicester*) “ for he will be too hard for  
 “ you all; you know not the Beast so  
 “ well as I do.”

We have already observ’d, that the Earl of *Leicester* was made Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, towards the end of the last year. In his entrance upon this office, he found the University in a most deplorable condition. Their discipline had long been neglected, and their learning most miserably impoverish’d. The Schools were almost unfrequented, and the Chairs fill’d with Professors of a very slender capacity. To revive the use of *Latin*, the Queen had given orders divine service should be perform’d in that language, which few of the hearers were able to understand. The whole University could furnish only three Preachers, *Sampson Dean of Christ-Church*, Dr. *Lawrence Hum-*

\* Hist. & Antiq. Acad. Oxon. lib. i. p. 285.

*phreys*, President of *Magdalen-College*, and one *Kingsmill*, a Batchelor of Arts of *All Souls*. And in the absence of the two former, the audience was frequently put off with very lame performances. To give the Reader an instance, which fell out some few years after. The Congregation being one *Sunday* destitute of a Preacher, *Taverner* of *Woodeaton*, the Sheriff of the County, enters *St. Mary's*, with his sword by his side, and his gold chain about his neck, mounts the Pulpit, and harangues the Scholars in the following strain:

ARRIVING AT THE MOUNT OF *St. Maries* IN THE "STONY STAGE, WHERE I NOW STAND, I HAVE BROUGHT YOU SOME FINE BISKETS, BAKED IN THE OVEN OF CHARITIE, CAREFULLY CONSERVED FOR THE CHICKENS OF THE CHURCH, THE SPARROWES OF THE SPIRIT, AND THE SWEET SWALLOWES OF SALVATION, &c. This *Taverner*, it seems, had been brought up in the Car-

" There was a stone Pulpit in the University Church.



dinal's College, was an Inceptor in Arts, and in Deacon's Orders, and a person at that time in esteem for his learning in the University; so that from this specimen it may appear to how low a character their studies were reduc'd.

The Earl of *Leicester* \* labour'd by all possible means to introduce an improvement in Literature, and give a new turn to the face of affairs in the University. By his letters he recommended to 'em the practice of Religion and Learning, and press'd 'em to a more close observance of their duty. This application was not without its effect; y provision was immediately made for reforming abuses in Graces and Dispensations, Lectures and publick Exercises were enforc'd by statute, and the Habits brought under regulation. But these good orders were in a great measure very soon disregarded, and a relaxation made in

\* Epist. & Orat. aliquot Acad. Oxon. &c. *printed in the Appendix to Mr. Roper's Life of Sir Tho. More*, p. 84.

y Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 286.

their

their new-establiſh'd diſcipline. This declenſion was very diſagreeable to their Chancellor, who had ſet his heart upon the reſtoration of Learning, and gave occaſion to the <sup>2</sup> following letter.

“ When I underſtood not long ago  
“ what good orders were by your com-  
“ mon agreement deviſed upon mo-  
“ tion of my letters for the advaunce-  
“ ment of true religion, virtue and  
“ learning in your Univerſitie, I was in  
“ my mind very glad of it. For ſince  
“ I had firſt charge of your Univerſitie  
“ I muſt confeſ I have been carefull to  
“ ſe it proſpere. But underſtanding  
“ againe of late by credible informa-  
“ tion how ill theſe well deviſed orders  
“ are obſervid and kept among you, I  
“ cannot but much mervail and be ſorie  
“ for it. Marveil, at the mindes of  
“ learnid men ſo ſoone altered from  
“ their own device and purpoſe; and  
“ ſorrie, for the evident hurt of that  
“ Univerſitie, which hath hertofore been

<sup>2</sup> Epist. & Orat. Acad. Oxon. &c. p. 84. *ſeq.*

“ compted the right eie of *England*,  
 “ and a light to the whole realme. For  
 “ I am advertised, that all good orders,  
 “ which your selves made, decency in  
 “ apparail only except, (which is re-  
 “ ported to be indifferentlie well look-  
 “ ed unto,) but all other orders saving  
 “ this (as Soondaie sermons, exercise in  
 “ learning, publick disputations in all  
 “ faculties) are utterlie unregarded,  
 “ which disorder is reported to have  
 “ don already great hurt, and will be  
 “ undoubtedlie (if it be born with a  
 “ while) the utter decaie of the Uni-  
 “ versitie. And assuredlie I would be  
 “ loth to se the Universitie fall any  
 “ wise in decaie, as long as my charge  
 “ continueth over it. Therefore these  
 “ are to praie you and to require you  
 “ to looke more straightly to your owne  
 “ orders, and to put them better in  
 “ execution then hath been hitherto  
 “ doon. Namelie to the principall or-  
 “ ders which directly touche Learning  
 “ and Religion, as Sermons, publick  
 “ Exercise and Disputations, whereby

“ all Universities stand and kepe their  
“ name ; not neglecting neither such in-  
“ ferior orders as are appointed necessarie.  
“ For sometimes contempt of small or-  
“ ders bringeth in disobediens in greater  
“ matters, and every order made and  
“ not observid teacheth disobedience.  
“ Notwithstanding it is not unknowen  
“ that principall orders ought cheefly to  
“ be respected, which ye shall do well  
“ hereafter better to look unto, both  
“ for the honour of the Universitie,  
“ your owne profet, and my great con-  
“ tentacion. Els shall the want of your  
“ good conformities herein (being for  
“ your own benefites) cause me for want  
“ of being able to do good as willingly  
“ release the charg I have, as I did with  
“ very good mynde toward you all  
“ carefully receave it for the well dis-  
“ charging my duetie therein. For I  
“ minde not to neglect the charge I  
“ have being Chauncelor, in tendering  
“ generallie the increase of learning in  
“ all, and particulerly the preferment of  
“ every one, as their vertue, learning,

D

“ and

“ and conformitie to good order shall  
 “ deserve. Thus fare ye well. From  
 “ the Coort the xxiiii<sup>th</sup> of *Julie* 1565.

Your loving frend

*R. Leycester.*

This letter was well receiv'd by the University, and <sup>a</sup> in their answer of the 8<sup>th</sup> of *August*, they acknowledge with thankfulness their Chancellor's care and inspection over 'em. They declare themselves conscious of having fail'd in their duty, and beg pardon for their misconduct. But in excuse, they urge the difficulty of reducing indolent tempers, train'd up in a long course of inactivity, to industry and application. They tell him however, that none but the new Orders lay under these circumstances of disregard; that the old Statutes were never observ'd with a more strict degree

<sup>a</sup> Epist. & Orat. aliquot Acad. Oxon. &c. p. 83.  
 See the original Letter in the Appendix, Num. 2.



of obedience, and Bachelors exercises, and Masters disputations were kept up to the height of reputation. And hence they conceiv'd, a like diligence would soon be discern'd in the discharge of every other branch of duty; and these expectations, they said, were supported by his Lordship's countenance and favour, and the encouragement he gave to modesty and merit. They promis'd to guard against abuses, and that nothing hereafter should be committed, that might justly be offensive to his Lordship, disserve their own character, or reflect upon the honour of the University. They entreat the continuance of his protection, and conclude with acknowledgments of the great services he had done 'em in his late defence of their privileges. It seems, <sup>b</sup> one *Butterfield* had brought an action against Dr. *Kayes*, the Master of a College, in the Court of Common Pleas, which by the privileges of the University ought only to

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 84, 76, 77.

have been tried before the Chancellor or his Delegate. But upon the University's remonstrance of the injury they receiv'd from *Butterfield's* prosecution, application was made to the Lord Keeper by the Earl of *Leicester*, the grievance redress'd, and the University Privileges secur'd.

1566. In the beginning of the next year<sup>b</sup> Monsieur *Ramboullet* was dispatch'd into *England* to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Charles IX.* King of *France*, with the Order of *St. Michael*, to be conferr'd on two *English* Noblemen, as should seem most agreeable to her Majesty. The Queen made choice of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Leicester*, the one distinguish'd by his high birth, and the other by her Majesty's favour.<sup>c</sup> And on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *January* they were invested in the Royal Chapel at *White-*

<sup>b</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 82. Stow's *Chronicle*, &c. p. 659.

<sup>c</sup> Register of the Garter, &c. by Mr. Anstis, p. 89. Ashmole's Institution, &c. of the Order of the Garter, p. 369. See the Appendix, Num. 3.

*hall*, with great solemnity. No *Englishmen* had ever been admitted before into this order, except King *Henry VIII.* King *Edward VI.* and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, which made the Queen look upon it as a considerable honour. 'Twas instituted by *Lewis XI.* in 1469. and preserv'd its lustre for near an hundred years together. For some time after its institution, 'twas never conferr'd but upon persons of the first rank, exemplary by their conduct, and pre-eminent in virtue, and farther recommended by some signal action, which might deserve the recompence of so great a reward. And as these qualifications were seldom to be found in the same person, the stalls had never been fill'd for four successive reigns, tho' the number of Knights amounted only to thirty six. But towards the end of the reign of King *Henry II.* this Order became venal, and Governments, Estates, and Wives, are said to have been prosti-

\* Histoire de France, &c. par Mezeray, Tom. 3. p. 204.

tuted to obtain it. Under *Francis* II. and *Charles* IX. it grew still cheaper, and the number of Knights encreas'd so largely, that the Lords in derision demanded it for their footmen. <sup>f</sup>Queen *Elizabeth* is reported to have lamented the disregard paid to it, when she learnt it was thus dispos'd of to all sorts of people without any distinction.

§ This year her Majesty issued out a Proclamation against the Dissenters, in favour of Conformity. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* summon'd the *London* Clergy, who did not conform, to appear before him at *Lambeth*, and several were persuaded to quit their mistakes. The rest, who refus'd compliance, were suspended from the execution of their office, and their benefices put under sequestration. The book of Advertisements was reviv'd, corrected, and publish'd with the Queen's approbation. But

<sup>f</sup> Camden's *History of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 82.

<sup>§</sup> Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, lib. 3. p. 214. seq. Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* &c. Vol. 2. p. 505. seq.

notwithstanding all these endeavours, the bulk of the Puritan Party continued firm in their prejudices. <sup>h</sup> And for their encouragement, they met with favour and countenance at Court. The Earl of *Leicester* was zealous in their interest, and they had made friends of the Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knowles*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*. These Ministers seem to have been guided by secular views, and to have humour'd the Dissenters with a design to improve their own fortunes by the ruin of Church Estates and Cathedral Revenues.

<sup>i</sup> This summer the Queen took a progress into the country, and upon her return made a visit to *Oxford*. <sup>k</sup> She was attended by the Earl of *Leicester*, who inform'd the University of her design, desir'd they would consult their own credit upon this occasion, and make an honourable provision for her

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 508. Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, lib. 6. p. 258.

<sup>i</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 83.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. & Orat. aliquot Acad. Oxon. p. 99.



Majesty's reception. <sup>1</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup> of *August* his Lordship, with some other of the Nobility, was dispatch'd before by her Majesty, to give notice, that she would be there within two days. The Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Kennal* and the Heads of Houses came out to meet 'em on horseback, and entertain'd 'em with *Latin* Orations address'd to their Chancellor and Secretary *Cecil*. And in the afternoon the Lords return'd to *Woodstock*, where the Court lay, and express'd their satisfaction in the entertainment.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of *August* in the forenoon <sup>m</sup> the Earls of *Leicester* and *Huntingdon* were present at Dr. *Humphreys's* Lectures in the Schools, who read as Queen's Professor in Divinity, and then they attended at the publick Disputations. Towards evening, as her Majesty approach'd, she was met at *Wolvercote*, where the jurisdiction of the University ends, by the Chancellor the Earl of *Leicester*, by four Doctors, Dr. *Kennal* the Vice-Chan-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 286.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 287.

cellor, Dr. *Lawrence Humphreys*, Dr. *Tho. Godwyn*, and Dr. *Tho. Whyte*, in their scarlet Robes and Hoods; and by eight Masters of Arts, who were Heads of Colleges or Halls. The Chancellor then deliver'd the staves of the three superior Beadles into her Majesty's hands, and having receiv'd 'em again from her, and restor'd 'em to their respective Officers, Mr. *Roger Marbeck*, the late Orator of the University, and now Canon of *Christ Church*, made an elegant speech to her Majesty upon the occasion. She then held out her hand to the Orator and the Doctors, and as Dr. *Humphreys* drew near to kiss it, " Mr. Doctor," says the Queen, smiling, " that loose gown " becomes you mighty well, I wonder " your notions should be so narrow." This *Humphreys* it seems was at the head of the Puritan Party, and had oppos'd the Ecclesiastical Habits with great warmth of zeal.

As she enter'd the town, the streets were lin'd with Scholars from *Bocardo* to *Quatervois*, who, as her Majesty pass'd

pass'd along, fell down upon their knees, and with one voice cry'd out, *Long live the Queen!* At *Quatervois* the Greek Professor Mr. *Lawrence* address'd her Majesty in a *Greek* Oration, and the Queen answer'd him in the same language, and commended his performance. From hence she was convey'd with the like pomp to *Christ* Church, where she was receiv'd by Mr. *Kingsmill* the public Orator, who in the name of the University congratulated her Majesty's arrival among 'em. And here, by the way, to give the reader an instance, how great a regard the University then paid to the *Calvinistick* Divines, <sup>n</sup>the Queen is complimented for having recall'd the followers of *Peter Martyr* and *Martin*

<sup>n</sup> Epist. & Orat. Acad. Oxon. p. 108. *Edwardus VI<sup>us</sup>, suavissimus frater tuus, — quam singulari benignitate vel hanc Academiam vel Cantabrigiam complexus est, tum ostendit, cum Petrum Martyrem & Martinum Bucerum, pios sane & doctos patres, huc ex ultimis Germaniæ partibus evocarit. Quorum multos sane filios tua, O sacratissima regina, bonitas ex eadem illa Germania collegit, & P. Martyris selectissimum auditorem P. Martyris meritissimum heredem fecisti, patri certe suo sola ætate inferiorem.*

*Bucer*

*Bucer* out of *Germany*, and conferring the Divinity Chair upon *Dr. Humphreys*, who is said to have been the constant hearer of *Peter Martyr*, the heir of his merits, and in age only inferior to his predecessor.

° For seven days together the Queen was magnificently entertain'd by the University, and express'd an extreme delight in the Lectures, Disputations, Publick Exercises and Shews, which she constantly heard and saw. On the sixth day she declar'd her satisfaction in a <sup>P</sup> *Latin* speech, and assur'd 'em of her favour and protection. The day after she took her leave, and was conducted by the Heads as far as *Shotiver-Hill*, when the Earl of *Leicester* gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their jurisdiction. Mr. *Roger Marbeck* then made an Oration to her Majesty, and having laid open the difficulties under which learning had formerly labour'd, he applied himself to

° Hist. & Antiq. Acad. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 287. seq.

<sup>P</sup> See the Appendix, Num. 4.

the encouragements it had lately receiv'd, and the prospect of its arising to the height of splendor under her Majesty's most gracious administration. The Queen heard him with pleasure, and return'd a most favourable answer; and casting her eyes back upon *Oxford*, with all possible marks of tenderness and affection she bade 'em farewell. And here it may not be amiss to observe, that the Queen's countenance, and the Earl of *Leicester's* care, had such an effect upon the diligence of this learned body, that within a few years after it produc'd more shining instances of real worth, than had ever before been sent abroad at the same time in any age whatsoever.

<sup>a</sup> Upon the Queen's return to *London*, the Parliament met on the first of *November*, and fell into warm debates concerning the Succession. They made no scruple to reflect upon her Majesty, as tho' she neglected her countrey upon

<sup>a</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 83.



this occasion, and seem'd resolv'd to insist upon her immediate marriage, or the declaration of a Successor. <sup>†</sup> The Earl of *Leicester* had earnestly solicited in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*; but not meeting with the success he desir'd, <sup>†</sup> he said that an husband ought to be impos'd on the Queen, or a successor appointed by Parliament against her inclination. And herein he was openly join'd by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and more privately by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Queen was highly incens'd at this behaviour, and for some time they were all excluded the Presence-Chamber, and prohibited access to her person. But 'twas not long before they submitted, and obtain'd her Majesty's pardon.

During this disgrace <sup>†</sup> my Lord of *Leicester* is charg'd with having enter'd into a traiterous correspondence with

<sup>†</sup> Melvil's *Memoirs*, &c. p. 71.

<sup>†</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. i. p. 83.

<sup>†</sup> *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c. p. 59. *seq.*

the *Irish*, who had just before broke out into an open rebellion. His letters are said to have been found upon a person of distinction, who was kill'd in battle; but before the discovery could be made, he was reconcil'd to the Queen, and placed above the reach of any private accusation.

1567. The next year <sup>u</sup> Count *Stolberg* was dispatch'd into *England*, by the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat again of a marriage with the Archduke *Charles*. The Earl of *Suffex* had not long before been sent to his Imperial Majesty upon this subject, and being partly influenc'd by a love to his country, and partly provok'd by his hatred against the Earl of *Leicester*, he used his utmost efforts that her Majesty might be married to a foreign Prince, and the Earl of *Leicester* disappointed of his hope. But my Lord of *Leicester* took care to supplant him in his designs, and privately engag'd the Lord *North*, who attended

<sup>u</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. i. p. 100. *seq.*

him in his journey, to be a spy upon his actions, and to break the measures he should enter into, by contrary insinuations. In the mean time he discouraged her Majesty from the attempt, by laying before her the inconveniences, that would necessarily arise from a foreign match.

He suggested, “ that by the late marriage of her sister Queen *Mary*, with King *Philip* of *Spain*, she was expos’d to perpetual trouble, and *England* in danger of the *Spanish* yoke; that the manners, inclination, and disposition of foreigners could not easily be discover’d, which were yet very necessary to be known in an husband, who by an inseparable tye was to become one flesh with his wife; that ’twas excessively disagreeable to be continually conversant with strange customs and a strange language; that children of a foreign bed had generally an odd intermixture in their composition; that by the frequent concourse of foreigners new usages were introduc’d  
“ and

“ and alterations made in a Common-  
“ wealth; that for a Princess to marry  
“ with a Foreigner, was to add strength  
“ and increase to her husband’s domi-  
“ nions, to subject her self and her peo-  
“ ple to another’s command, and to lay  
“ open the secrets of her Kingdom to  
“ a stranger; that ’twas natural for e-  
“ very man to love his native countrey,  
“ and a foreign husband could not avoid  
“ preferring his own countrymen to  
“ the *English*; that *England* had no  
“ need of a foreign aid, but had strength  
“ enough to defend it self against any  
“ exterior force; that the accession of  
“ another Kingdom was the new addi-  
“ tion of greater cares, expences, and  
“ trouble, and that Empires were oft  
“ overburthen’d by their own weight;  
“ that it was unjustly urg’d in disgrace  
“ to the Nobility, that the Royal Dig-  
“ nity was impair’d by a marriage at  
“ home, since even the Majesty of Kings,  
“ which was founded on virtue, was  
“ originally derived from Nobility, and  
“ Noblemen were in a manner the  
“ roots

“ roots of the Royal stock; and hence  
 “ the Kings of *England*, in their let-  
 “ ters to Dukes, Marquesses, Earls and  
 “ Viscounts, have ever given 'em the  
 “ title of *Cousins*.”

\* The Earl of *Sussex* in the mean time was honourably entertain'd by the Emperor for five months together at his own expence. But difficulties arising upon the point of Religion, his negotiation had no effect, and the Archduke *Charles* not long after married *Mary* the daughter of *Albert V.* Duke of *Bavaria*. And thus my Lord of *Leicester* was freed from any farther apprehensions of a match with *Germany*.

To return to *Oxford*. y Dr. *Kennal* having now discharg'd the Office of Vice-chancellor for two years successively with honour and reputation, 'twas judg'd convenient to dismiss him from the burden of so weighty an employment, and the Earl of *Leicester* sent his letters to the University of *Oxford*, in which

\* Ibid. p. 101, 102.

y Epist. & Orat. Acad. Oxon. p. 113. seq.



he gave 'em permission to proceed to a new election. As this office had for some time past been limited to the profession of the Law, the Chancellor judg'd proper to recommend the choice of a Divine upon this occasion, and particularly pointed out to 'em Dr. *Humphreys*, Dr. *Tremaine*, Dr. *Westfalinge*, and Dr. *Cawfilde*, as fit persons to be chosen.

<sup>z</sup> But when the Convocation met, and the Chancellor's letters were read, the persons recommended not being agreeable to the major part of the House, they could come to no determination, and the assembly broke up in disorder.

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of *Leicester* had notice of what was done, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *March* sent 'em a second Letter, wherein he complains of the disregard paid to his former recommendation, and again requires they should make choice of a Divine, but leaves the person to themselves, who should be distinguish'd by his learning, integrity, and understand-

<sup>z</sup> Hist. & Antiq. Acad. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 427.

<sup>a</sup> Epist. & Orat. Acad. Oxon. p. 116.

ing,

ing, or otherwise he declares he could not allow of their election. <sup>b</sup> Upon this they met once more, and the choice fell upon Dr. *Cooper*, who had formerly been enter'd on the Physick line, but was now an Inceptor in Divinity, and Dean of *Christ* Church. And hence it may appear, how unjustly my Lord of *Leicester* has been 'charg'd with the disposal of all offices in the University at his sole discretion.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. *Tho. Grenway* President of *Corpus Christi* College about this time resigning his Mastership, the Queen during the vacancy sent down a Royal Mandate in favour of Mr. *William Cole*, who had been a great sufferer in the late persecution under Queen *Mary*, had fled to *Zurich*, and was there reduc'd to such extreme poverty, that he was forc'd to feed upon mice for the support of life. But the Fellows reject-

<sup>b</sup> Hist. & Antiq. Acad. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 427.

<sup>c</sup> *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c. p. 83.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 290.

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<sup>c</sup> *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c. p. 83.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 290.

ing the Mandate made choice of Mr. *Robert Harryson*, who had formerly been Fellow of the House, but was ejected for patronizing the superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. The Queen was highly incens'd at this proceeding, declar'd the election void, and sent 'em an express command to admit Mr. *Cole*. But in return, they made answer, that they had already acted according to their consciences and the oaths they had taken. The Queen was by no means satisfy'd with this answer, and immediately order'd their Visitor the Bishop of *Winchester* to look into the affair, and see that *Cole* was accepted. When he came among 'em, they shut their gates against him, which he caus'd to be broke open, and having call'd the senior Fellows before him, he insisted upon the election of *Cole*; but as they still refus'd to comply with this demand, he publicly expell'd 'em, and having chosen others to succeed 'em, whom he knew would favour his design, Mr. *Cole* was made President in form.

This



<sup>e</sup> This behaviour and the corrupt practices the Earl of *Leicester* had of late observ'd in the College during his residence at *Oxford*, gave occasion to a Royal Visitation. There were join'd in commission with his Lordship and the ordinary Visitor the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *William Cecyll* Secretary of State, *Thomas Cooper* and *Lawrence Humphreys* Doctors of Divinity, and *George Acworth* Doctor of Laws. And the issue of this visitation was, that three of the Fellows, *Edmund Rainolds*, *Miles Windfore*, and *George Napiers*, were ejected as favourers of Popery.

<sup>f</sup> Not long after the Chancellor made fresh alterations in the discipline of the University. He abolish'd the old form of chusing Proctors, and the next year nam'd his Commissary or Vicechancellor of himself, without asking the consent of the Convocation, and herein appears to have carried his prerogative

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. & Athen. Oxon. col. 235, 416.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 1. p. 290. seq. lib. 2. p. 428.

to its highest extent. He farther order'd, that the Vicechancellor, the Proctors, and Heads of Houses should first meet together, and debate of such matters, as were to be laid before the Convocation; and appointed, that all affairs of moment should henceforward be managed with privacy and by way of scrutiny, and not by open and publick votes, as was the custom before.

§ This year the Queen of *Scots*, who had been dethron'd by her subjects, and confin'd in the castle of *Lochleven*, made her escape into *England*, upon large promises of assistance and favour from Queen *Elizabeth*. But upon her arrival she was unkindly treated, denied all access to her person, and forcibly detain'd as a prisoner of war, 'till she should answer for the death of the Lord *Darnley* her husband, who had lately been murder'd in a barbarous manner, and was a native of *England*. Commissioners were strait appointed to take cognizance

§ Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. i. p. 108. *seq.*  
*Bp. Leslie's Negotiations*, p. 10. *seqq.*

of her cause, Deputies sent from *Scotland* to accuse her, and *York* was nam'd for the place of conference. But as nothing satisfactory was here alledg'd, the Commission was recall'd, and the matter brought to a re-hearing at *Westminster* before the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Suffex*, and *Leicester*, and certain others of the Privy Council. The Rebel *Scots* gave in their accusation, which being shewn to the Queen's Commissioners by the Commissioners of *England*, they retorted the charge of the King's murder upon the Earl of *Murray* and his Confederates; and then they offer'd to them, and afterwards to Queen *Elizabeth* her self at *Hampton-Court*, to make good their allegation, upon condition that the Queen of *Scots* might be allow'd to appear in the presence of her Majesty and the Nobility of *England*, and justify her innocence before them and the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors. This condition seem'd reasonable to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Leicester*, and some others of

the Commissioners, but Queen *Elizabeth* rejected the proposal with an unbecoming warmth; and thus the conference was dissolv'd, and nothing effected.

1569. The Earl of *Leicester* appears at this time to have been well-affected to the interest of the Queen of *Scots*, and <sup>h</sup> stands charg'd with having entred into a Conspiracy against Secretary *Cecil*, because he suspected him to favour the succession of the House of *Suffolk* to her disadvantage. And when the Earl of *Murray* suggested the marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Leicester* embrac'd the proposal with eagerness and zeal. He took upon him to propound the matter to the Duke, spoke favourably of her conduct, extenuated the crimes she was accus'd of, and engaged the Earl of *Pembroke* to join with him in promoting the match. <sup>i</sup> He then wrote letters to her Majesty

<sup>h</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 1. p. 122.

<sup>i</sup> Bishop Leslie's *Negotiations*, p. 51, 52.

with his own hand, in commendation of the Duke of *Norfolk*, in which he earnestly persuaded her to approve of the marriage, and in this case assur'd her of the good will of all the Nobility, and the certainty of her succeeding to the Crown of *England*, if Queen *Elizabeth* should die without issue; and these letters were not only subscrib'd by himself, but, upon his instigation, by others of the Nobility. And farther, he drew up certain articles, which he sent to her by the Bishop of *Rosse*, and promis'd upon her acceptance of the propos'd conditions, to procure for her the Crown of *Scotland* in present possession, and the Crown of *England* in reversion. To these terms she readily agreed, provided the consent of Queen *Elizabeth* might be obtain'd, but otherwise she said she fear'd the matter might turn to her own and the Duke's disservice.

Whilst affairs were in this situation, and the Earl of *Leicester* was waiting for a convenient opportunity of opening



ing the design to Queen *Elizabeth*, <sup>k</sup> the Earl of *Murray* sent secret advice to her Majesty of the whole transaction, and charg'd the Duke of *Norfolk* with having engag'd in private practices to get the present possession of the two Crowns by means of this marriage. This report, tho' very foreign to the Duke's inclinations, was supported by circumstantial evidence and probable conjectures, and rais'd the Queen's jealousy, who was very tender upon this point, to a high degree, against the Duke, and the Lords, that were concern'd with him. <sup>l</sup> Which when the Duke understood, he would have persuaded the Earl of *Leicester* to impart the scheme to her Majesty without any delay; but my Lord of *Leicester* put it off from time to time, 'till at length falling sick at *Tichfield*, or at least pretending sickness, for he was a great master in the arts of dissimulation, and

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 71. See also Melvil's *Memoirs*, &c. p. 99.  
<sup>l</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. I. p. 129. seq.

being

being there visited by the Queen, he disclos'd the whole matter to her from its first beginning, and begg'd her pardon with sighs and tears. And not long after the Duke and the Lords being taken into custody, <sup>m</sup> the Earl of *Leicester* was examin'd before the Queen and Council, and giving a full account of the whole proceeding upon the first accusation, he easily obtain'd his pardon of her Majesty. And he was afterward frequently confronted with the Bishop of *Rosse*, but their depositions agreed well together.

The next year a treaty<sup>n</sup> was begun <sup>1570.</sup> with the Queen of *Scots*, and the Lord *Burghley* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* were sent down to *Chattefworth* to confer with her Majesty upon the terms of her deliverance. They return'd well satisfy'd with her answers, and Queen *Elizabeth* declar'd 'em to be both just and honourable. ° But upon the arrival of

<sup>m</sup> *Bishop Leslie's Negotiations*, &c. p. 79, 80.

<sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* p. 100. *seq.*

° *Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 2. p. 154. *Bishop Leslie's Negotiations*, &c. p. 125. *seqq.*

the

the Delegates from *Scotland* the year after, new difficulties were form'd, and the Commissioners could come to no agreement. <sup>p</sup> There is extant a letter from my Lord of *Leicester* to the Earl of *Suffex*, in the Queen of *Scots* favour, which evidently appears to have been written upon this occasion; and as it contains the state and reasonings of those times, and the substance of what was alledg'd for the retaining her in *England*, or sending her back into her own countrey, I shall here lay it before the reader.

“ <sup>q</sup> MY GOOD LORD, I receiv'd your  
 “ Letter in the answer of mine; and  
 “ though I have not written sooner a-  
 “ gain to your Lordship, both accord-  
 “ ing to your desire, and the necessity  
 “ of our cases at this time, yet I doubt  
 “ not but you are fully advertis'd of  
 “ her Majesty's pleasure otherwise. For

<sup>p</sup> *Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, &c.*  
 Vol. 2. Append. p. 373.

<sup>q</sup> *Ex Mss. Nob. D. Evelyn.*

“ my

“ my own part, I am glad your Lord-  
“ ship hath prospered so well in your  
“ journey, and have answer’d in all  
“ points the good opinion conceiv’d of  
“ you.

“ And touching her Majesty’s further  
“ resolution, for these causes, my Lord,  
“ I assure you, I know not well what  
“ to write. First, I see her Majesty  
“ willing and desirous, as reason is, to  
“ work her own security, and the  
“ quietness of her state, during her time,  
“ which I trust in God shall be far  
“ longer than we shall live to see end  
“ of. And herein, my Lord, there be  
“ sundry minds, and among our selves,  
“ I must confess to your Lordship, we  
“ are not fully agreed which way is  
“ best to take. And to your Lordship,  
“ I know I may be bold, beside the  
“ friendship I owe you, the place you  
“ hold presently doth require all the  
“ understanding that may be, to the  
“ furtherance of her Majesty’s good e-  
“ state ; wherefore I shall be the bolder  
“ to let you know as much as I do, and  
“ how we rest among us. “ Your

“ Your Lordship doth consider, for  
“ the state of *Scotland*, her Majesty  
“ hath these two persons being divided  
“ to deal with, the Queen of *Scotland*  
“ by her subjects lately deprived, and  
“ the young King her son crown’d and  
“ set up in her place. Her Majesty of  
“ these two is to chuse, and of neces-  
“ sity must chuse which of ’em she will  
“ allow and accept, as the person suffi-  
“ cient to hold the principal place. And  
“ here groweth the question in our  
“ Council to her Majesty, which of  
“ these two are most fit for her to  
“ maintain and join in amity with?  
“ To be plain with your Lordship, The  
“ most in number do altogether con-  
“ ceive her Majesty’s best and surest way  
“ is, to maintain and continue the  
“ young King in this his estate, and  
“ thereby to make her whole party in  
“ *Scotland*, which by the settling of him  
“ with the cause of Religion, is thought  
“ most easiest, most safest, and most pro-  
“ bable for the perpetual quieting and  
“ benefit to her own estate, and great  
“ assurance



“ assurance made of such a party, and  
“ so small charges thereby, as her Ma-  
“ jesty may make account to have the  
“ like authority and assured amity in  
“ *Scotland*, as heretofore she had in  
“ the time of the late Regent.

“ The reasons against the other are  
“ these shortly.

“ The title that the Queen claimeth  
“ to this Crown: The overthrow of  
“ Religion in that countrey: The im-  
“ possibility of any assurance for the  
“ observing of any pact or agreement  
“ made between our Sovereign and  
“ her. These be causes your Lordship  
“ sees sufficient to dissuade all men from  
“ the contrary opinion. And yet, my  
“ Lord, it cannot be denied, upon in-  
“ different looking into the matter on  
“ both sides, but the clearest is full e-  
“ nough of difficulties. And then, my  
“ Lord, is the matter disputable, and  
“ yet I think verily, not for argument-  
“ sake, but even for duty and consci-  
“ ence sake, to find out truth, and safest  
“ means for our Sovereign's best doing.

“ And

“ And thus we differ. The first you  
“ have heard touching the young King.

“ On the other side, this it is thought,  
“ and of these I must confess my self  
“ to your Lordship to be one: And God  
“ is my Judge, whether it be for any  
“ other respect in this world, but that  
“ I suppose and verily believe it may  
“ prove best for her Majesty’s own quiet-  
“ nefs during her time.

“ And here I must before open to  
“ your Lordship indeed her Majesty’s  
“ true state she presently stands in;  
“ which, though it may be granted the  
“ former advice the better way, yet  
“ how hardly it layeth in her power to  
“ go thorough withal, you shall easily  
“ judge. For it must be confessed that  
“ by the taking into her protection the  
“ King and the Faction, she must enter  
“ into a war for it: And as the least  
“ war being admitted cannot be main-  
“ tained without great charge; so such  
“ a war may grow, *France* or *Spain*  
“ setting in foot, as may cause it to  
“ be an intolerable war. Then being a

“ war, it must be treasure that must  
“ maintain it. That she hath treasure  
“ to continue any time in war, surely,  
“ my Lord, I cannot see it. And as  
“ your Lordship doth see the present  
“ relief for money we trust upon, which  
“ either failing us, or it rising no more  
“ than I see it like to be, not able  
“ long to last; where is there further  
“ hope of help hereafter? For my own  
“ part I see none. If it be so then, my  
“ Lord, that her Majesty’s present estate  
“ is such as I tell you, which I am sure  
“ is true, how shall this counsel stand  
“ with security, by taking a party to  
“ enter into a war, when we are no  
“ way able to maintain it; for if we  
“ enter into it once, and be driven ei-  
“ ther for lack or any other way to  
“ shrink, what is like to follow of the  
“ matter your Lordship can well con-  
“ sider; the best is, we must be sorry  
“ for that we have done, and perchance  
“ seek to make amends, where we nei-  
“ ther would nor should. This is touch-  
“ ing the present state we stand in. Be-

F

“ sides,

“ fides, we are to remember what al-  
“ ready we have done; how many ways  
“ even now together, the Realm hath  
“ been univerfally burdened.

“ Firft, for the keeping of new bands,  
“ after the furnifhing of armour; and  
“ therein how continually the charge  
“ fooner hath grown, than fubfidies  
“ payed.

“ And laftly, the marvellous charge  
“ in moft countries againft the late re-  
“ bellion, with this loan of money  
“ now on the neck of it. Whether  
“ this ftate doth require further caufe  
“ of impofition or no, I refer to your  
“ Lordfhip. And whether entring into  
“ a further charge than her Majefty hath  
“ wherewithal to bear, it will force  
“ fuch a matter or no, I refer to wifer  
“ to judge.

“ And now, my Lord, I will fhew  
“ you fuch reafons as move me to think  
“ as I do. In worldly caufes men muft  
“ be governed by worldly policies; and  
“ yet fo to frame them, as God, the  
“ author of all, be chiefly regarded.

“ From

“ From him we have received Laws,  
“ under which all men’s policies and  
“ devices ought to be subject ; and  
“ through his ordinance the Princes of  
“ the earth have authority to give Laws,  
“ by which also all Princes have the  
“ obedience of the people. And tho’  
“ in some points I shall deal like a  
“ worldly man for my Prince, yet I  
“ hope I shall not forget that I am a  
“ Christian, nor my duty to God.

“ Our question is this ; Whether it  
“ be meet for our Sovereign to main-  
“ tain the young King of *Scotland* and  
“ his authority ; or upon composition  
“ restore the Queen of *Scots* into her  
“ Kingdom again ? To restore her sim-  
“ ply we are not of opinion, for so I  
“ must confess a great oversight, and  
“ doubt no better success, than those  
“ that do object most perils thereby to  
“ ensue. But if there be any assurances  
“ in this world to be given, or any  
“ provision by worldly policy to be  
“ had, then, my Lord, I do not see  
“ but ways and means may be used



“ with the Queen of *Scots*, whereby  
“ her Majesty may be at quiet, and yet  
“ delivered of her present great charge.  
“ It is granted and fear’d of all sides,  
“ that the cause of any trouble or dan-  
“ ger to her Majesty, is the title the  
“ Queen of *Scotland* pretends to the  
“ Crown of this Realm. The danger  
“ we fear should happen by her, is not  
“ for that she is Queen of *Scotland*,  
“ but that other the great Princes of  
“ *Christendom* do favour her so much,  
“ as in respect of her Religion, they  
“ will in all causes assist her; and spe-  
“ cially, by the colour of her title,  
“ seem justly to aid and relieve her,  
“ and the more lawfully take her and  
“ her causes into their protection. Then  
“ is the Title granted to be the chief  
“ cause of danger to our Sovereign.  
“ If it be so, Whether doth the setting  
“ up the Son in the Mother’s place,  
“ from whence his title must be claim-  
“ ed, take away her title in the opi-  
“ nion of those Princes, or no, not-  
“ withstanding she remain a Prisoner?  
“ It

“ It appeareth plainly, No; for there  
“ is continual labour and means made,  
“ from the greatest Princes our neigh-  
“ bours, to the Queen’s Majesty, for re-  
“ storing the Queen of *Scotland* to her  
“ Estate and Government, otherwise  
“ they protest open relief and aid for  
“ her. Then though her Majesty do  
“ maintain the young King in his pre-  
“ sent Estate, yet it appears that other  
“ Princes will do the contrary: And  
“ having any advantage, how far they  
“ will proceed, men may suspect. And  
“ so we must conceive, that as long as  
“ this difference shall continue, by the  
“ maintaining of these two, so long  
“ shall the same cause remain, to the  
“ trouble and danger of the Queen’s  
“ Majesty. And now to avoid this  
“ whilst she lives, what better mean is  
“ there to take this cause away, but by  
“ her own consent to renounce and  
“ release all such Interest or Title as  
“ she claimeth, either presently or here-  
“ after, during the life of her Ma-  
“ jesty, and the Heirs of her body.

“ Albeit, here may two questions be  
“ mov’d.

“ *First*, Whether the *Scots* Queen  
“ will renounce her Title, or no?

“ *Secondly*, If she will do so, what  
“ assurance may she give for the  
“ performance thereof?

“ To the first, It is most certain she  
“ hath, and presently doth offer, wholly  
“ and frankly, to release and renounce  
“ all manner of claims and titles, what-  
“ soever they be, to the Crown of this  
“ Realm, during her Majesty’s life, and  
“ the Heirs of her body.

“ And for the second, she doth like-  
“ wise offer all manner of security and  
“ assurances that her Majesty can devise,  
“ and is in that Queen’s possible power  
“ to do, she excepteth none.

“ Then must we consider, what may  
“ be assurances, for here is the difficul-  
“ ty: For that objections be, that  
“ Princes never hold promises longer  
“ than for their own commodity, and  
“ what

“ what security soever they put in, they  
“ may break if they will. All this  
“ may be granted; but yet that we must  
“ grant also, that Princes do daily treat  
“ and deal one with another, and of  
“ necessity are forced to trust to such  
“ bonds and assurances as they contract  
“ by. And as there is no such surety  
“ to be had in worldly matters, but all  
“ are subject to many casualties; yet  
“ we see such devices made, even among  
“ Princes, as doth tie 'em to perform  
“ that, which if they might conveni-  
“ ently chuse, they would not. And  
“ in this matter of the Queen of *Scot-*  
“ *land*, since she doth offer both to  
“ leave the cause of the difference that  
“ is between the Queen's Majesty and  
“ her, and also to give all surety that  
“ may be by our selves devised to ob-  
“ serve the same; I do not see but  
“ such means may be devised to tie her  
“ so strongly, as though she would  
“ break, yet I cannot find what advan-  
“ tage she shall get by it. For beside,  
“ that I would have her own simple

“ renunciation to be made by the most  
“ substantial instrument that could be  
“ devised, the assent of some others  
“ should confirm the same also. Her  
“ own Parliaments at home should do  
“ the like with the full authority of  
“ the whole estates. They should deli-  
“ ver her son, and such other principal  
“ Noblemen of her Realm for Hostages,  
“ as the Queen’s Majesty should name.  
“ She should also put into her Majesty’s  
“ hands some one piece or two of her  
“ Realm, and for such a time as should  
“ be thought meet by her Majesty, ex-  
“ cept *Edinburgh*. The Queen’s Ma-  
“ jesty might also, by ratifying this by  
“ a Parliament here, make a forfeiture,  
“ if the Queen of *Scotland* should any  
“ way, directly or indirectly, go about  
“ to infringe this agreement of all such  
“ Titles and Claims that did remain in  
“ the Queen of *Scotland*, after her Ma-  
“ jesty and her Issue, never to be capa-  
“ ble of any authority or sovereignty  
“ within this Realm. These I would  
“ think to be sufficient bonds to bind  
“ any



“ any Prince, specially no mightier than  
“ she is. And this much more would  
“ I have, that even as she shall be thus  
“ bound, for the relief of her Title,  
“ to the Queen’s Majesty and her issue;  
“ so shall she suffer the Religion receiv’d  
“ and establish’d in *Scotland* already,  
“ to be confirmed, and not altered. In  
“ like sort, the amity between these  
“ two Realms to be such and so frankly  
“ united, as no other league with any  
“ foreign Prince should stand in force to  
“ break it. For I think verily, as the  
“ first is chiefeſt touching her Majesty’s  
“ own person, ſo do I judge the latter,  
“ I mean, the confirmation of the Reli-  
“ gion already there received, to be one  
“ of the aſſuredſt and likeliest means to  
“ hold her Majesty a ſtrong and conti-  
“ nual party in *Scotland*. The trial  
“ hereof hath been already ſufficient,  
“ when her Majesty had none other in-  
“ tereſt at all, but only the maintenance  
“ of the true Religion, the ſame cauſe  
“ remaining ſtill, the ſame affection in  
“ the ſame perſons that do profeſs it, I  
“ truſt,

“ trust, and it is like, will not change.  
“ And though the *Scots* Queen should  
“ now be settled in her Kingdom a-  
“ gain, yet is she not like to be greater  
“ or better esteem’d now than hereto-  
“ fore, when both her authority was  
“ greater, and her good will ready to  
“ alter this Religion, but could not  
“ bring it to pass. No more is it like,  
“ these further provisions being taken,  
“ she shall do it now. And the last  
“ cause also is not without great hope  
“ of some good success. For as the  
“ oppression of strangers heretofore had  
“ utterly wearied them of that yoke,  
“ so hath this peaceable time between  
“ them and us made them know the  
“ liberty of their own, and the com-  
“ modity of us their neighbours.  
“ This, my Lord, doth lead me to  
“ lean to this opinion, finding thereby  
“ rather both more surety and more  
“ quietness for my Sovereign’s present  
“ time, having by the contrary many  
“ occasions of trouble cut off, and the  
“ intolerable charge eschewed, which I  
“ cannot

" cannot find by any possible means  
" her Majesty able to sustain for any  
" long time.

" Thus hastily am I driven to end  
" my long cumbersome letter to your  
" Lordship, though very desirous to im-  
" part my mind herein to your Lord-  
" ship."

' About this time there broke out an open quarrel between the Earl of *Leicester* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. A Prebend of value in the Church of *York* nam'd *Riccal* was lately fallen void, and the advowson of it had been procur'd by one Mr. *Hammond*, a Gentleman of a considerable estate in the county, and was design'd for his son, who was yet a child. And this coming to the ears of the Bishop of *London*, who was now elect of *York*, he gave notice of it to the Archbishop, and press'd him not to grant his dispensation to any boy whatsoever. In the

' *Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker*, lib. 4. ch. 2. p. 298. *seq.*

mean time the Earl of *Leicester* had made application to his Grace to bestow this Prebend upon one *Brookes*, a creature of his own. The Archbishop shew'd some unwillingness to yield without the consent of the Bishop of *London*, as judging it reasonable he should have the approbation of his own Prebendaries. But *Brookes* made answer, that the Earl of *Leicester* desir'd only his Grace's countenance and recommendation to the Queen, and that he was already favour'd by the Bishop of *London*. Upon which the Archbishop sign'd his hand. But now, when it was expected my Lord of *Leicester* should have perform'd his promise, and dispatch'd this business for *Brookes* with the Queen, his mind was chang'd on a sudden, and Mr. *Hammond* had found means, as 'tis suppos'd, by a fair present, to gain him over to his son's interest. He wrote letters to the Archbishop upon this occasion, and earnestly entreated him to grant a dispensation to Mr. *Hammond's* boy, if he should think it meet.

But

But the Archbishop did not judge it convenient, and refus'd to comply. The Earl of *Leicester* was provok'd at the refusal, and gave the good Archbishop a deal of trouble. He procur'd an order from the Privy-Council to his disservice, and the Secretary was enjoin'd to make enquiry, whether the Archbishop had never granted dispensations to any children before. But his Grace stood stoutly upon his defence, wrote letters to the Secretary in his own vindication, complain'd of the unreasonable demands of certain Noblemen, and pointing at the Earl of *Leicester*, *Sunt quidam*, says he, *quos si quid juves, plumâ levior gratia; si quid offendas, plumbeas iras gerunt*; and again, he wish'd him to have God always before his eyes, *However*, says he, *some Noblemen will be Men*.

My Lord of *Leicester* indeed stands charg'd with having had a gainful share in the disposal of all offices of profit,

<sup>c</sup> *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester, &c.*  
P 74.

that



that Ecclesiastical Preferments were set to sale, and such persons advanc'd to Bishopricks, as would allow him to convert the best part of their revenues to his private use: And 'tis to be fear'd, Mr. *Hammond's* bribes were the chief inducement in procuring his favour in the present case, and the Archbishop's denial was the more displeasing, as it ran counter to his interest. Of his rewards for promoting to Bishopricks, take the following 'story from Sir *John Harington*. " Of the Bishops, says he, " that liv'd in the first twenty years of " the Queen's reign, when I was at " school or at the University, I could " hear little, yet at my first coming to " the Court I heard this pretty tale, " that a Bishop of *Winchester* one day " in pleasant talk, comparing his Revenue with the Archbishop's of *Canterbury*, should say, Your Grace's will shew better in the rack, but mine will be found more in the manger:

' Sir John Harington's *brief View of the State of the Church of England*, &c. p. 61.

upon

“ upon which a Courtier of good place  
 “ said, it might be so *in diebus illis*:  
 “ But, saith he, the rack stands so high  
 “ in sight, that it is fit to keep it full,  
 “ but that may be since that time some  
 “ have with a *provideatur* swept some  
 “ provender out of the manger. And  
 “ because this metaphor comes from  
 “ the stable, I suspect it was meant by  
 “ the Master of the Horse.”

The next year Sir *Nicholas Throg-* 1571.  
*morton*, a zealous Antagonist to Secre-  
 tary *Cecil* in favour of the Earl of  
*Leicester*, “ departed this life. In whose  
 house, as he was at supper, he was seiz’d  
 in a most violent manner by an impost-  
 humation in his lungs, and died with-  
 in a few days, but not without suspicion  
 of poison. \*’Tis said, that being lately  
 reconcil’d to Secretary *Cecil*, the Earl  
 of *Leicester* was apprehensive he might  
 make a discovery of his secret practices,  
 and for this reason took care to dis-

“ Camden’s *History of Q. Eliz.* lib. 2. p. 152.

\* *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c.  
 p. 35. seq.

patch him. And farther he bore him a secret grudge for a former message sent over to Queen *Elizabeth*, whilst her Ambassador in *France*, that he had heard it reported at the Duke of *Montmorency's* table, that her Majesty was about to marry her horsekeeper. The day before his death he is said to have declar'd the cause and circumstances of his distemper at large, to have broke out into a bitter invective against the Earl of *Leicester's* cruelty and perfidiousness, and to have imputed his indisposition to an impoison'd sallet. But be this as it will, my Lord of *Leicester* outwardly made a mighty shew of lamentation over him, and in a letter to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, he thus expresses himself upon the occasion. " We have lost on *Monday* our good Friend " Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who died " in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on *Tuesday*

“ Sir D. Digges's Compleat Ambassador, &c.  
P. 47.

before.

“ before. His lungs were perished, but  
 “ a sudden cold he had taken was the  
 “ cause of his speedy death. God hath  
 “ his soul, and we his friends great loss  
 “ of his body.”

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of *Leicester* was now of chief authority at Court, and apparently head of the Puritan Faction. The Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knowles*, and some even among the Bishops themselves are reported to have gone over to their interest, and to have been desirous of dispensing with their subscription to the Articles and Canons, requir'd of 'em both by Acts of Parliament and Convocation. However, it was <sup>b</sup> this year order'd by the unanimous consent of the Bishops and Clergy, “ That none should be admitted from henceforth unto Holy Orders, till he had first subscrib'd the Articles; and solemnly oblig'd himself to defend the things therein contain'd, as consonant in all points to

<sup>a</sup> Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, &c. p. 267.

<sup>b</sup> Can. 1571. cap. de Episcop.

“ the word of God.” <sup>c</sup> The Articles here confirm’d were the Articles, which had been drawn up by the Convocation of 1562, and contain’d the additional clause of the *Church’s power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith*. There are three Editions of the XXXIX Articles publish’d this year by *Jugg and Cawood*, which have all this clause; <sup>d</sup> and when it was contested in the reign of King *Charles I.* Archbishop *Laud* produc’d an exemplify’d copy of the original book, subscrib’d by the Convocation, wherein this controverted passage was to be seen. <sup>e</sup> But by the interest and favour of the Puritanical Party with the Earl of *Leicester* and some other of the great men at Court, a spurious edition of the Articles was this year printed by *John Day*, and this part of the Article expung’d.

<sup>c</sup> *Strype’s Life of Archbishop Parker, &c.* lib. 4. p. 319. *seq.*

<sup>d</sup> *Collier’s Eccl. Hist. &c.* Vol. 2. p. 487.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid. and Strype’s Life of Archbishop Parker, &c.* p. 320. *Heylin’s Hist. of the Presbyterians, &c.* lib. 6. p. 268.



'Twas farther omitted in all the Harmonies of Confessions, and Collections of Articles, publish'd at *Geneva* or in other places, where *Calvinism* prevail'd. And thus it continued till the death of my Lord of *Leicester*, and then the book of Articles was re-printed in 1593. and the clause inserted as it stood in the publick Registers.

<sup>f</sup> About this time a match was propos'd between Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*, and was prosecuted by the Protestants with the more warmth, as it was conceiv'd, the Duke had not yet so deeply imbib'd the principles of the *Romish* Religion, but that he might be drawn over to the Communion of the Church of *England*. § My Lord of *Leicester*

<sup>f</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 2. p. 159.

§ I am also to ascertain you, that although the contrary may be reported, my Lord of Leicester finding just occasion thereto doth by all good means, to my knowledge, further the marriage; and therefore I think it reason, that by such good means as your self may think meet, both the Queen Mother and Monsieur de Anjou might understand his disposition, so as he may be well thought of herein. The Lord Burleigh to Sir Francis Walsingham, in Sir D. Digges's  
G 2 Compleat

*Leicester* appears to have laid aside his pretensions to the Queen upon this occasion, and to have solicited the marriage with zeal. But the Duke insisting upon a toleration in the exercise of his own Religion, the Queen absolutely refus'd to comply.

The designs of *Ridolpho* the *Italian* Merchant, and the conspiracy of the Duke of *Norfolk*, being now discover'd, to prevent any farther attempt in favour of the Queen of *Scots*, <sup>h</sup>a Law was made, prohibiting under a severe penalty, the declaring any person whatsoever to be Heir or Successor of the Queen, *except it were the natural issue of her body*. This expression, as 'twas

*Compleat Embassador, &c. p. 72. And again, p. 104. Yesterday came de Pine with letters to my Lord of Leicester from the King, the Queen Mother, and Monsieur, which will much further the matter; and it is reason that my Lord of Leicester be assur'd of favours both there and at home; for some that like not this match may otherwise engender doubts in his Lordship. And yet surely at this present he dealeth earnestly with her Majestie in the furtherance of the match; you shall do well to let his Lordship understand what good opinion is had of him for so doing.*  
<sup>h</sup> Camden's *Life of Q. Eliz.* lib. 2. p. 166. seq.

unaccustom'd

unaccustom'd in Statutes of this nature, and the term *Natural* was usually applied by the Lawyers to such children as were born out of wedlock, gave great occasion to censure; and <sup>i</sup> mighty clamours were rais'd against my Lord of *Leicester*, as though by inserting this clause in the Statute he had design'd to involve the Realm in new disputes about the Succession. For 'twas urg'd, that no possible reason could be imagin'd, why the usual form of *Lawful Issue* should be chang'd into *Natural Issue*, unless with a view to reflect upon the honour of her Majesty, and to obtrude hereafter upon the *English* some bastard-son of his own as the *Natural Issue* of the Queen.

<sup>k</sup> In this Sessions a motion was made 1572. to the disservice of the Universities; but my Lord of *Leicester* withstood the attempt, wip'd off the calumnies object-

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 167. *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c. p. 108.

<sup>k</sup> Epist. & Orat. Acad. Oxon. &c. p. 140. See the Appendix, Num. 5.

ed in the invective against those learned Societies, and very generously defended their honour and privileges.

<sup>1</sup>The quarrels between his Lordship and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* were about this time again reviv'd. The occasion was given by one Mr. *Stowell*, who had been convened before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for co-habiting with a certain Lady as his wife, whilst his former wife was yet living. *Stowell* had made such interest at Court, as to procure the letters of the Lord Treasurer *Burghley* and the Earl of *Leicester* in his favour. But the good Archbishop was not to be diverted from the course of justice by any application whatsoever. He return'd notwithstanding an obliging answer, related the case at large, which he said had been misreported to their Lordships, and was sorry he should be compell'd to proceed against a Gentleman, who seem'd to be a Protestant, for such disorderly

<sup>1</sup> *Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker*, &c. lib. 4. chap. 14. p. 373. *seq.*

doings,

doings, which yet was necessary, to avoid farther example. This refusal very highly provok'd the Earl of *Leicester*, insomuch that he lost his temper upon the occasion, and express'd his resentment in unbecoming language. The Archbishop wrote a letter to pacify him, but without effect; for he would not so much as vouchsafe to read it, but carelessly put it up in his pocket. Which when it was reported to the Archbishop, he told the Lord Treasurer, he would refer himself to God, and act up to the rules of justice and honesty; and again applying himself to another in the same cause, "though, says he, we be no-  
" thing, and outcasts among the Puri-  
" tans, and their great fautors, a shrewd  
" sort of 'em, as long as God shall suf-  
" fer me in this office, I will still anger  
" them, and grieve them in such mat-  
" ters, as they work unjustly." By which expressions he evidently pointed at the Earl of *Leicester*, the great Patron of the Puritan Faction, who continued his enemy till the day of his death.



This year, at the solemnization of the marriage between *Henry* King of *Navarre* and the Lady *Margaret* the *French* King's sister, the bloody Massacre of the Protestants was wrought at *Paris* on the *Eve* of *St. Bartholomew*.

<sup>m</sup> If Mr. *Camden* is not mistaken, the Earl of *Leicester* and the Lord *Burghley* were invited to the Nuptials under a pretext of honour, but were design'd to have been cut off, in case they had accepted of the invitation. <sup>n</sup> This tragedy was lamented by my Lord of *Leicester*, in a letter he wrote to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the *English* Embassador at *Paris*, with an uncommon strain of piety and concern.

But to return to the Archbishop. <sup>o</sup> *Sanders's* book *De visibili Monarchiâ* having lately been dispers'd throughout the Kingdom, to the great scandal of the Reformation and dishonour of the

<sup>m</sup> *Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c. lib. 2. p. 187.*

<sup>n</sup> *Sir D. Digges's Compleat Embassador, &c. p. 251. See the Appendix, Num. 6.*

<sup>o</sup> *Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, &c. lib. 4. chap. 16. p. 381. seq.*

Queen, 'twas judg'd proper that an able hand should be employ'd to answer it. The Archbishop made choice of Dr. *Bartholomew Clerk*, a person at that time very eminent for his learning and eloquence, and tho' herein oppos'd by my Lord of *Leicester*, the performance answer'd up to expectation, and his Grace by way of recompence made him his Official in the Arches. <sup>p</sup> The Earl of *Leicester* was by no means pleas'd with the advancement of a person to whom he had shewn a disregard, and notwithstanding he behaved in his post with credit and reputation, was resolv'd to displace him. To this end he dealt earnestly with the Queen that *Clerk* might be set aside, and so far prevail'd upon her Majesty by his sollicitations, that in *June* the very year his book came abroad in defence of her own honour, she order'd the Archbishop to remove him, as being too young for the discharge of an office of so high a nature.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. chap. 17. p. 385. *seqq.* See also Mr. Strype's Append. Num. LXXIX.

The Archbishop was sensibly afflicted, that he should be commanded to dismiss one of his own Officers, whom he had rais'd to this employment upon the score of his merits, on so slender a pretence, whilst it may be the real cause of his removal was the impartiality of his proceedings towards some of the Earl of *Leicester's* creatures. The former Dean had been admitted at the age of five and thirty years, and *Clerk* was now thirty seven; the Archbishop of *York's* Chancellor was three years his inferior in the University, and at the least four years younger than he; a man might be made a Bishop by the Laws at the age of thirty, and then surely he might be a Bishop's Official at thirty six. He therefore remonstrated to the Queen, that he could neither in justice or equity dispossess him, unless his accusers could by publick trial make proof of his insufficiency. He begg'd her Majesty would have some regard to the services he had lately done her, and not ruin one of the most faithful of her subjects, who

who had deserv'd her favour. But if neither respect to *Clerk* nor his cause could move her, he desir'd her Highness would have some consideration of himself, as his reputation was nearly concern'd in this affair, and his discredit in the end must of necessity turn to her Majesty's prejudice. And farther, if she still persisted in her resolution, he wish'd she would order some other person to displace him, for in his own conscience he could not do it. This letter put off the execution of the Queen's purpose for some few months; but then repeating her command, the Lord Treasurer *Burghley* undertook to intercede for him. But however the storm might be diverted from time to time, all opposition at length fell before my Lord of *Leicester*, and Dr. *Clerk* was reduc'd to the condition of a private Advocate, till at last in the year 1588, upon the Earl of *Leicester's* death, <sup>a</sup> he was restor'd to his office, and again made Dean of the Arches. And hence it ap-

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. chap. 17. p. 388.

pears,

pears, how absolute my Lord of *Leicester* was at this time in the good graces of the Queen, since neither the equity of Dr. *Clerk's* cause, nor the intercession of her chief Ministers, could avail any thing with her Majesty, in contradiction to his Lordship's will.

1575. In *July* 1575, as the Queen was upon her progress she made the Earl of *Leicester* a visit at his Castle of *Kenilworth*. This Manour and Castle, which had formerly belong'd to the Crown, had been granted to my Lord of *Leicester* and his heirs by the Queen's Letters Patents ever since the fifth year of her reign. And having obtain'd this noble seat, he spar'd for no expence in the enlarging and adorning it. Sir *William Dugdale* relates, upon the credit of some of his servants, that the charges he bestow'd upon the Castle, Parks and Chase, amounted to no less than sixty thousand pound. And here, having made all due preparation for her Ma-

\* *Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire illustrated, &c. p. 166.*



jeſty's reception, he entertain'd the Queen and her Court for ſeventeen days together, with all imaginable magnificence.

At her firſt entrance a floating iſland was diſcern'd upon the Pool, glittering with torches, on which ſat the Lady of the Lake, attended by two Nymphs, who addreſs'd her Maſteſty in verſe with an hiſtorical account of the antiquity and owners of the Caſtle, and the ſpeech was cloſed with the ſound of cornets, and other inſtruments of loud muſick.

Within the Baſe-court was erected a ſtately bridge, twenty foot wide, and ſeventy foot long, over which the Queen was to paſs; and on each ſide ſtood columns, with preſents upon 'em to her Maſteſty from the Gods. *Silvanus* offer'd a cage of wild-fowl, and *Pomona* divers ſorts of fruits; *Ceres* gave corn, and *Bacchus* wine; *Neptune* preſented ſea-fiſh, *Mars* the habiliments of war, and *Phæbus* all kinds of muſical inſtruments. During the reſt of her ſtay, variety of ſports and ſhews were daily exhibited. In the Chafe was a ſavage man with ſa-  
tires;

tires; there were bear-baitings and fireworks, *Italian* tumblers and a country brideale, running at the Quintin, and Morrice-dancing. And that no sort of diversion might be omitted, hither came the *Coventry* men, and acted the ancient play, so long since used in their city, call'd *Hocks-Tuesday*, representing the destruction of the *Danes* in the reign of King *Ethelred*; which prov'd so agreeable to her Majesty, that she order'd 'em a brace of bucks, and five marks in money to defray the charges of the feast. There were besides on the Pool a *Triton* riding on a Mermaid eighteen foot long, and *Arion* upon a Dolphin. To grace the entertainment the Queen here knighted Sir *Thomas Cecil*, eldest son to the Lord Treasurer; Sir *Henry Cobham*, brother to the Lord *Cobham*; Sir *Francis Stanhope*, and Sir *Thomas Tresham*. An estimate may be form'd of the expence from the quantity of ordinary beer, that was drank upon this occasion, which amounted to three hundred and twenty hogsheads.

Towards

Towards the close of this year <sup>f</sup>*Walter D'Evereux*, Earl of *Essex*, was by my Lord of *Leicester's* management commanded to resign his authority in *Ireland*, and as an ordinary Captain had the command given him of three hundred men. <sup>t</sup>About two years ago, upon the rebellion of *Brian Mac-Phelim* in *Ulster*, at the instigation of the Earl of *Leicester*, who sought to expose him to danger under a pretence of advancing him to honour, he had desir'd leave of the Queen to undertake an expedition against the rebels. And having agreed with her Majesty upon certain conditions, he was to furnish himself for the war at his own expence. And that the Lord Deputy of *Ireland* might not be offended, he was order'd to receive his Patent from him for the government of *Ulster*. But difficulties arising which he had not foreseen, he wrote to the Queen desiring she would be pleas'd to carry on the war in her own name, and by

<sup>f</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c.* lib. 2. p. 212.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 201. *seq.*

her

her own authority, tho' he should bear half the expence. And when her Majesty had now purpos'd to recall him, by my Lord of *Leicester's* persuasions he was not sent for. Under these distresses he march'd against the enemy, and notwithstanding all his troubles behav'd with courage and resolution; he fell upon the *Irish* and the *Hebridian Scots* as they were preparing to attack him, slew two hundred of their men, and carried off *Mac-Phelim* prisoner, with his wife and brother. And this year having resign'd up his command in *Ulster* to the Lord Deputy, as not being able to prosecute the reduction of the Province with the small number of forces that were allotted him, he was order'd again to resume it. And as soon as he had done it, and was marching against *Turlogh Leinigh*, he receiv'd a fresh command to make peace with him upon the most honourable terms he could, tho' this had before been denied him at his own request. He then turn'd his arms against the *Hebridian Scots*, who had

had taken possession of *Clandeboy*, drove 'em to their holes, and by the assistance of Sir *John Norris* attack'd the Isle of *Rachlin*, slew four hundred of the inhabitants, storm'd the Castle, and garrison'd it with his own men. And now in the midst of his victories, by the practices of the Earl of *Leicester*, he was unexpectedly oblig'd to give up his authority.

Being thus compell'd to lay aside his expedition, " he return'd into *England*, after having sustain'd a considerable loss in his private fortunes. But expressing his resentment with too much eagerness against my Lord of *Leicester*, to whose under-hand dealings he imputed the whole cause of his misfortunes, he was again sent back into *Ireland* by his procurement, with the unprofitable title of *Earl Marshal* of the Country. And here he continued not long, before he surrender'd his soul to God, and died of a bloody flux in the midst of incredible torments.

\* Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c.* lib. 2. p. 217.



<sup>w</sup> The death of this Nobleman carried with it a suspicion of poison, and was charg'd upon the Earl of *Leicester*. Two of his own servants, *Crumpton* his cup-bearer, and *Lloyd* his secretary, are reported to have been confederates in the murder. And 'tis said, that Mrs. *Alice Drakot*, a pious Lady whom the Earl much valued, was accidentally poison'd at the same time, and with the same cup, and died a few days before him. 'Tis farther alledg'd, that his Lordship's Page, who was accusom'd to taste of his drink before he gave it him, very hardly escap'd with life, and not without the loss of his hair, tho' he drank but a small quantity; and that the Earl in compassion to the boy, call'd for a cup of drink a little before his death, and drank to him in a friendly manner, and says he, "I drink to thee, my *Robin*, but ben't afraid, 'tis a better cup of drink than that thou tookest to taste, when we both were poison'd."

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. and *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c. p. 33, 34.

This

\* This report was however contradicted by Sir *Henry Sidney* the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, who wrote word to the Council of *England*, that he had made a diligent enquiry into the affair, and found that by the Earl's own relation 'twas usual for him to fall into a bloody flux, whenever he was disturb'd in mind; that he was by no means apprehensive of poison, and his body retain'd the same colour in his sickness as in perfect health; no spot, no infection appear'd, no falling off of the hair or nails, and when his corps was open'd, there were no visible signs of poison to be seen upon him; and tho' his Physicians differ'd in their judgments, yet none of 'em advis'd any manner of application against the force of poison, and his cup-bearer was falsely accus'd of having intermingled it with his wine. " And " yet, y says Mr. *Camden*, we have seen " the same man openly pointed at for " a poisoner.

\* *Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c. lib. 2. p. 217.*

y *Ibid.*

This suspicion was encreas'd by my Lord of *Leicester's* soon after marrying the Lady *Lettice* widow to the Earl of *Essex*, and putting away his former wife, the Lady *Douglasse*, widow to the Lord *Sheffield*, and daughter to *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. <sup>2</sup> That she was his wife, seems evident from the depositions made in the Star-Chamber in the beginning of King *James's* reign in favour of the legitimacy of Sir *Robert Dudley*, the Earl of *Leicester's* son by the said Lady *Douglasse Sheffield*. For 'twas there depos'd upon oath, by the Lady *Sheffield* and several other persons, who were present at her marriage, that after having been contracted to the Earl of *Leicester* about two years before, she was solemnly married to him in her chamber at *Asber* in *Surrey*, by a lawful Minister, according to the form of Matrimony establish'd by Law in the Church of *England*, in presence of Sir *Edward Horsey*, who gave her in marriage, Ro-

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, &c. p. 166.

*bert Sheffield*, Esq; and his Lady, Dr. *Julio*, Mr. *Henry Trodsbam*, and five other persons, whose names are there set down; that the ring, with which they were married, was set with five pointed diamonds and a table diamond, and had been given to the Earl of *Leicester* by the grandfather to the then Earl of *Pembroke*, upon condition that he should give it only to the Lady whom he made his wife; that the Duke of *Norfolk* was the principal instrument in making the match, and that the Earl of *Leicester*, out of a pretence of the Queen's displeasure, in case it were known, had engag'd her to a vow of secrecy, 'till he should give her leave to reveal it. 'Twas farther depos'd, that within two days after Sir *Robert Dudley* was born at *Shene*, the Lady *Douglasse* receiv'd a letter from his Lordship, which was read by Mrs. *Erisa*, but then Lady *Parker*, wherein he *thank'd God for the birth of his said son, who might be their comfort and staff of their old age*, and was subscrib'd, *Your loving Husband*, ROB.

LEICESTER; and that the said Lady was after this serv'd in her chamber as a Countess, 'till he forbad it, for fear the marriage should be thereby disclos'd. And besides these, there were many other depositions made, from whence it appear'd, that the Earl of *Leicester* had own'd Sir *Robert Dudley* as his lawful son, and that his brother the Earl of *Warwick* had in like sort asserted his legitimacy.

<sup>a</sup> But all these engagements gave way to his passion for the Lady *Essex*, of whom he became so enamour'd, that he offer'd the Lady *Douglass* no less than seven hundred pounds a year in the Queen's garden at *Greenwich* to disown her marriage, and upon her refusal broke out into violent protestations, that he would never come near her any more, nor allow her one penny. And there is cause to believe, that finding her obstinately resolv'd not to comply with his demand, he attempted to take her off by poison. "For 'tis certain,"

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 167.

says



says Sir *William Dugdale*, " that she  
 " had some ill potions given her, so that  
 " with the loss of her hair and nails, she  
 " hardly escap'd death." <sup>b</sup> He first mar-  
 ried the Lady *Effex* privately at *Kenil-*  
*worth*; but her father Sir *Fra. Knowles*,  
 being acquainted with his Lordship's in-  
 constancy, refus'd to give any credit to  
 it, unless the marriage-ceremony should  
 be solemniz'd in his own presence. And  
 thus he was married again at *Wanstead*  
 before him, the Earl of *Warwick*, the  
 Lord *North*, a publick Notary, and se-  
 veral other witnesses. <sup>c</sup> And the Lady  
*Douglassse*, to secure her life from any  
 future practices, some time after con-  
 tracted marriage with Sir *Edward Staf-*  
*ford*, a person of character and reputa-  
 tion, and her Majesty's Embassador into  
*France*.

*Grindal*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, <sup>d</sup> a-

<sup>b</sup> *Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester*, &c.  
 p. 52. *seq.* *Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 2.  
 p. 217. *seq.*

<sup>c</sup> *Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire*, &c. p. 167.

<sup>d</sup> *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* &c. Vol. 2. p. 554. *seq.*  
*Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal*, &c. p. 221.

bout this time fell under the Queen's displeasure, upon the score of certain religious exercises, then call'd *Propheesyings*, which the Queen mislik'd, and had order'd the Archbishop to suppress. But *Grindal* being a man of courage and conscience, and of opinion that these propheesyings were serviceable to Religion, could not be prevail'd on to submit to her Majesty's command in contradiction to his own judgment, and wrote a long letter to her in defence of these Exercises, and to excuse his in-compliance. But whatever the Archbishop could say, the Queen was not to be diverted from her purpose, her disinclination increas'd towards him, and in the heat of her anger she resolv'd to have him suspended and sequestred. \* *Fuller* and *Heylin* impute his disgrace to the Earl of *Leicester*, and tell us that it was occasion'd by the offence he had taken at the Archbishop's refusing to a-

\* *Fuller's Church-History*, lib. 9. p. 130. *Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians*, &c. lib. 7. p. 285. seq.

alienate the House and Manour of *Lambeth* from the See of *Canterbury*, in his Lordship's favour. And Mr. *Camden*<sup>f</sup> says it was owing "to his having condemn'd the unlawful marriage of "*Julio* an *Italian* Physician with another man's wife, while *Leicester* in "vain oppos'd his proceedings therein." But these imputations seem to have been groundless; for the Earl of *Leicester* appears at this time to have been firm in the interest of the Archbishop, and to have behaved towards him in a friendly manner. He took upon him to deliver his letter to the Queen, and to intercede for him with her Majesty; he endeavour'd to bring him off from his notions, and was at the pains to lay open the inconveniences of such meetings; and tho' his arguments were not

<sup>f</sup> *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c. lib. 3. p. 287. He seems to have borrow'd this notion from the Author of Leicester's Commonwealth. See Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester, &c. p. 29, 96. and Sir John Harington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. p. 5.*

<sup>g</sup> *Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal, &c. p. 222, 224.*

of weight to convince the Archbishop; yet he return'd him a letter of thanks, wherein he made acknowledgments for his Lordship's favours.

1578. The Duke of *Anjou*<sup>h</sup> was now eagerly pressing for the match, which had been propos'd between him and Queen *Elizabeth*, ever since he was Duke of *Alençon*. Several Embassies had been sent from *France* upon this occasion, but without any success. At length came over Monsieur *Simier*, a Gentleman train'd up in the arts of gallantry and love, attended by a large train of *French* Nobility. He waited upon the Queen at *Richmond*, and was entertain'd by her Majesty with such marks of friendliness and regard, that the Earl of *Leicester* began to be afraid the marriage might take effect. He had some time before engaged *Astley*, one of the Queen's Bed-chamber, to search out her disposition towards him, and had met with an unfavourable answer. For when he

<sup>h</sup> Camden's *History of Q. Eliz.* lib. 2. p. 227. Mezeray, *Hist. de France*, Tom. 3. p. 210.

was covertly recommended to her Majesty for an husband, she reply'd in a passion, " Do you think that in choosing a husband I should be so regardless of my character, or unmindful of my Royal Dignity, as to prefer my servant, whom my self have raised, to the greatest Princes of *Christendom*?" These words were thunderbolts to the Earl of *Leicester*, and he now perceiv'd, that should he interpose in the affair of the *French* match, his opposition would be construed to proceed from interested motives, and might be a means to promote, rather than prevent it. <sup>1</sup> He therefore chose to withdraw himself from publick view, to counterfeit sickness, and retire to his chamber; and under pretence of taking physick, he for some time became a voluntary prisoner. \*

But as he was nearly concern'd to break off this alliance, he was all the while very busy during his retirement,

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Sir Ph. Sidney, by Sir Fulke Grevil*, ch. 5. p. 71.



in contriving some effectual means to put a stop to't. He cast his eyes upon his nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*, the most accomplish'd young Gentleman that ever *England* bred, as a proper instrument to be employ'd against the power of the *French* Faction. He was just enter'd upon the stage of life, and stood distinguish'd by a behaviour, which had drawn upon him the respect and admiration of all that beheld him; and tho' the Queen had not yet advanc'd him to any employment in the State, she had upon several occasions express'd her sense of his merit, and the deference she paid to his perfections. \* He therefore engaged him to draw up an address to her Majesty, wherein he laid before her a just representation of the ill consequences attending on the marriage, and press'd her to decline it. But tho' he seem'd to stand alone in this application, the Queen was pleas'd with his remonstrance, allow'd him access to

\* Ibid. ch. 6. p. 72. &c. See the Appendix, num. 7.

her person as before, and some time after gave way to his reasons, and dropt the affair.

But Mr. *Camden*<sup>1</sup> gives a different account of my Lord of *Leicester's* confinement. He says, that *Simier* apprehending the Queen's affection for his Lordship to be the greatest bar to the Duke of *Alençon's* pretensions, endeavour'd to throw him out of favour, by revealing to her Majesty his marriage with the Earl of *Effex's* widow. The Queen broke out into intemperate language upon the occasion, and in a passion commanded him not to stir from the Castle of *Greenwich*, designing to have committed him to the *Tower of London*, if the Earl of *Suffex* had not interpos'd, and dissuaded her from her purpose. 'Tis said, that the Earl of *Leicester* resented this usage, and in return suborn'd a Russian, one *Teuder*, of

<sup>1</sup> *Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c. lib. 2. p. 232. See also Secret Memoirs of Robert Earl of Leicester, &c. p. 47, 53. and Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, &c. lib. 7. p. 294.*

the

the Queen's Guard, to cut off *Simier*. And 'tis certain, that about this time the Queen order'd by a publick Proclamation, that no affront should be offer'd to *Simier*, or any of his attendants, by word or deed, under a severe penalty. However, as he was one day waiting upon her Majesty in her barge, not far from *Greenwich*, a gun was discharg'd from a neighbouring boat, and one of the Queen's bargemen wounded thro' both his arms. It was strait suggested, this was some plot to dispatch *Simier*, but the matter upon enquiry appearing to have been wholly accidental, the man, who had immediately been apprehended, was set at liberty.

1581. Some time after, the <sup>m</sup>Duke of *Anjou* came over in person into *England*, and was receiv'd by the Queen with all possible instances of honour and affection. As he was one day entertaining her Majesty with amorous discourse, she drew a ring from off her finger, and

<sup>m</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 267, 268.

plac'd it upon his, on certain private conditions, which had been agreed on between them two. The company present mistook it for a contract of marriage, and discover'd their approbation or dislike in their countenances. The Earl of *Leicester*, and the rest of his Faction, who had spar'd no pains to render the design abortive, express'd their displeasure in violence and rage, and cry'd that the Queen, the Realm, and Religion were utterly undone. The Ladies of Honour, who were all in his interest, broke out into bitter lamentations, and so terrify'd the Queen with their womanish complaints, that she could take no rest for all that night, and early the next morning sent for the Duke of *Anjou*, and after some private conversation with him dismiss'd him in an ill humour, and severely inveighing against the inconstancy of the *English* women. And now, <sup>a</sup>having tarried in *England* the space of full three months,

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 273.

and

and finding his application to be ineffectual, he return'd into the *Low-Countries* in *February* the beginning of the next year. To do him honour, the Queen attended him as far as *Canterbury*, and order'd the Earl of *Leicester*, and some others of her Nobility to wait upon him to *Antwerp*.

1583. The next year died *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suffex*, the great antagonist to the Earl of *Leicester*. ° Upon his rival's death, his Lordship is reported to have given greater scope to his resentments, and to have acted with less moderation than before. He is said to have suborn'd a Priest to engage Mr. *Ardern*, a Gentleman of a very antient family in *Warwickshire*, in treasonable practices, and then to have convicted him upon the Priest's evidence. And this for no other reason, but because *Ardern* had objected to him his adulteries and other crimes, and had openly defam'd him as an upstart. The Priest

° Johnston. rer. Britann. lib. 3. p. 91. seq. Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c.* lib. 3. p. 289.



was sav'd, but *Ardern* was hang'd and quarter'd, and his death was beheld with the more commiseration, as it was judg'd to have proceeded from my Lord of *Leicester's* malice.

He seems to have carried his hatred 1584. towards the Queen of *Scots* to an equal length of extravagance. <sup>p</sup>He prevail'd upon the chief of the Nobility and Gentry to subscribe an Association, by which they bound themselves with mutual vows to pursue unto death whosoever should attempt any thing against Queen *Elizabeth*. And rumours being soon after spread abroad, that a plot was forming to set her at liberty, he is said to have dispatch'd certain Assassins to make her privately away. But Sir *Drue Druery*, one of her Keepers, being an honest man, and detesting from his heart such abominable practices, prevented the execution of his design. <sup>q</sup>His zeal against

<sup>p</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 303, 303. Johnston. rer. Britann. Hist. lib. 3. p. 98. *The Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, &c. p. 281, 288.

<sup>q</sup> Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, &c. lib. 8. p. 272.

the Queen of *Scots* is suppos'd to have arose from a private view of conveying the imperial Crown of this Realm into the family of the *Dudleys*, as had before been projected by his father in marrying his son *Guilford* to the Lady *Jane Grey*, a descendant from the younger sister of King *Henry VIII.* And thus 'tis reported he intended to advance the Earl of *Huntingdon* to the Throne, who had married his sister, and laid claim to the Crown, as being descended in a direct line from *George Duke of Clarence.*

1585. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* <sup>r</sup> was about this time, by the Queen's directions, attempting an uniformity in divine Worship. And tho' the Earl of *Leicester* had hitherto openly countenanced the pretensions of the Puritan Party, yet he now made great professions of his desire to see unity establish'd in the Church, and seem'd to favour the Archbishop's proceedings.

<sup>r</sup> Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, &c. lib. 3. p. 224. *seq.*

However, he became an earnest suitor in behalf of Mr. *Cartwright*, whom the Archbishop had suspended from preaching, and press'd for his Grace's licence to restore him to the pulpit without subscription. But the Archbishop chose rather to stand the hazard of his Lordship's displeasure, than to break thro' the measures he had begun; and yet upon his recommendation, he allow'd Mr. *Cartwright* a frequent access to his person, and treated him with all possible humanity and benign temper.

'Twas this year that the Estates in the *Netherlands*, being now greatly distress'd, again made application to Queen *Elizabeth*, and desir'd her Majesty to accept of the government of the United Provinces, and take 'em into her protection. The Queen heard their Deputies with favour, but at first refus'd both their protection and government: Yet she agreed to send 'em four thousand

<sup>i</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 320. Stow's *Annals*, &c. p. 708. Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the wars of Flanders*, &c. p. 237. *seq.*

men for the relief of *Antwerp*, which was then closely besieg'd by the Prince of *Parma*, on condition that *Sluys*, with the ordnance and ammunition in it, should be deliver'd into her hands by way of caution. But while this affair was transacting, all possibility of aid being cut off from the town by a bridge upon the river *Scheld*, the city was oblig'd to surrender on composition. The loss of *Antwerp* made an impression upon her Majesty, and having seriously consider'd the cruelty of the *Spaniard*, his inveterate hatred against *England* and the Religion she profess'd, and the danger of his increasing power in a countrey so near adjoining to her own, she gave way to reasons of State, and determin'd, by the advice of her Council, to assist the afflicted in the *Netherlands* against the King of *Spain*, on the following conditions :

“ That the Queen should send the  
 “ United-Provinces an auxiliary force of  
 “ five thousand foot and one thousand  
 “ horse, under a Governour General,  
 “ an

“ an honourable person, and should  
“ furnish ’em with pay during the war,  
“ which the Estates were to repay when  
“ a peace should be concluded ; name-  
“ ly, in the first year of the peace, the  
“ expences disbursed in the first year  
“ of the war, and the rest in the four  
“ years next following. In the mean  
“ time, *Flushing* and the Castle of *Ram-*  
“ *mekins* in *Walcheren*, and the Isle of  
“ *Brill*, with the City and two Forts,  
“ were to be deliver’d into the Queen’s  
“ hands for caution. That the Gover-  
“ nours of these places should exercise  
“ no authority over the inhabitants,  
“ but only over the Garrison Soldiers,  
“ who should pay excise and imposi-  
“ tions as well as the inhabitants. That  
“ the said places, after the money was  
“ repaid, should be restor’d again to the  
“ Estates, and not delivered to the *Spa-*  
“ *niard*, or any other enemy whatso-  
“ ever. That the Governour General,  
“ and two *Englishmen* whom the Queen  
“ should name, should be admitted in-  
“ to the Council of the Estates. That



“ the Estates should make no league  
 “ with any without the advice and con-  
 “ sent of the Queen; neither should  
 “ the Queen with the King of *Spain*,  
 “ without the advice of the Estates.  
 “ That an equal number of ships should  
 “ be fitted out for the common defence  
 “ by both parties, and at the common  
 “ charge, and be commanded by the  
 “ Admiral of *England*. And the ha-  
 “ vens and ports should be open and  
 “ free to both sides mutually.

When this affair had been concluded  
 in Council, tho' the Treaty was not yet  
 sign'd, ' my Lord of *Leicester*, who ex-  
 pected to be made her Majesty's Gene-  
 ral in the Expedition, dispatch'd Mr. *Ne-  
 vyl* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to  
 require his Grace's opinion of the law-  
 fulness and expediency of this Low-  
 Country-War, as judging it would tend  
 more to the reputation of his arms, if  
 the enterprize should be favour'd by his  
 Grace's approbation. There is extant a

\* *Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, &c. lib. 3.  
 ch. 14. p. 228.

letter from Mr. *Nevyl* to the Archbishop upon this occasion, wherein he tells him, " that he had presum'd to signify  
" to him in writing what his Lordship  
" had imparted\* to him the night before, *viz.* That his Lordship knew his  
" Grace's great wisdom and unfeigned  
" zeal, which he bore unto the Church  
" and Commonweal : And therefore  
" wondered not a little, that in this  
" long time of consultation about the  
" Low-Country Causes, his Grace and  
" his Brethren, but especially his Grace,  
" had not declar'd their minds unto her  
" Majesty, the rather to stir her High-  
" ness to the enterprizing of so honour-  
" able an action : That his Lordship  
" doubted not, but his Grace was fully  
" persuaded, that it was a cause of spe-  
" cial consequence ; and that there was  
" so great necessity both in respect of  
" the Church and Commonweal, to  
" enter into the action, that the cause  
" could not be abandon'd without ma-  
" nifold inconveniencies and extreme  
" danger to them both. And that the

“ misery thereof, as it was like to re-  
“ dound to the whole body of the Com-  
“ monweal, so could it not but spe-  
“ cially afflict the Church and Men of  
“ his Grace’s profession. And therefore  
“ he most earnestly advis’d his Grace to  
“ take the matter sadly into his considera-  
“ tion : And that as God had placed his  
“ Grace highest in degree in the Church,  
“ so to yield unto the Church and Com-  
“ monweal that duty, which now in  
“ this peril and danger wherein they  
“ stood, at his Grace’s hand principally  
“ they seem’d to challenge. To the  
“ honourable and christian discharge  
“ whereof,” he added, “ his Grace had  
“ now a very fit opportunity offer’d him,  
“ in case his Grace, as in conscience he  
“ perswaded himself he was bound to  
“ do, would to that end deal effectually  
“ with her Majesty. And farther, he  
“ was fully perswaded, his Grace could  
“ do nothing at this time, to God more  
“ acceptable, to the Church and Com-  
“ monweal more profitable, and to him-  
“ self more honourable.

But

But notwithstanding the warmth of this sollicitation, the Archbishop judg'd it convenient to return a very doubtful answer. " There is a paper among the *Lambeth* Manuscripts, from whence it may appear to have been his Grace's opinion, that if the *Netherlanders* were the King of *Spain's* subjects, it was absolutely unlawful for the Queen to assist 'em, tho' the pretence of their quarrel was the cause of Religion. And therefore in his reply to the Earl of *Leicester* he declines to engage in the affair, and urges the following reasons for his conduct: " *First*, says he, it is a matter of Council and of State, where-  
" with it becomes none to intermeddle,  
" but such as are called thereunto.  
" *Secondly*, He knew not her Majesty's  
" ability to maintain and defend what  
" was requir'd of her. *Thirdly*, 'Twas  
" given out by some persons of character, that these wars were to be  
" maintain'd by the dissolution of Ca-

" Ibid. p. 230. See the Appendix, Num. 7.

" thedral

“ theral Churches, which, says he, God  
“ forbid. *Fourthly*, That if her Ma-  
“ jesty should be persuaded at his mo-  
“ tion, and the enterprize should prove  
“ unsuccessful, the whole blame would  
“ be laid upon him. *Fifthly*, That he  
“ had already been ill-treated for a  
“ surmis’d conference in a matter of  
“ Religion relating to another state.  
“ *Sixthly*, That God’s providence and  
“ goodness in defending and relieving  
“ the oppressed prevails without extra-  
“ ordinary and doubtful means. *Se-*  
“ *venthly*, That ’twas a constant report  
“ her Majesty was pleas’d to grant ’em  
“ aid, and that soldiers were levying  
“ for this purpose, and therefore his  
“ motion would be needless. *Eighthly*,  
“ He wish’d with all his heart, that great  
“ compassion might be shewn to ’em;  
“ and as their cause was Religion, he  
“ thought they ought to be reliev’d by  
“ all lawful ways and means possible.  
“ But if any thing farther was requir’d,  
“ he must be satisfy’d of the lawfulness  
“ of it, before he could use any per-  
“ suasions about it. And



And indeed whatever was the Archbishop's judgment of this matter, his application to the Queen could have been of no service, <sup>w</sup> since assistance had already been promis'd to the States, and the Low-Countries taken into her Majesty's protection. For this motion was not made to the Archbishop by my Lord of *Leicester* till about the middle of *July*; and the Queen had determin'd to send aid to the United Provinces ever since the 29<sup>th</sup> of *June*, when the States Deputies made a solemn oration to her Majesty at *Greenwich* upon the occasion. <sup>\*</sup> Upon signing the league the *Zealanders* in a transport of joy order'd money to be coin'd with the arms of *Zealand* on the one side, *viz.* a lion rising out of the waves, with this inscription, *Luctor & emergo*; and on the reverse, the arms of the several cities of the Province, with this motto, *Authore Deo, favente Regina*. And the Queen, in

<sup>w</sup> Stow's Annals, &c. p. 708. *seq.* Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, &c. lib. 3. chap. 14. p. 229.

<sup>\*</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 322.

justifi-

justification of her proceedings, order'd a book to be set forth, declaring the causes which had inclin'd her Majesty to protect the afflicted in the Low-Countries. She then nominated the Earl of *Leicester* to be Lord Lieutenant General of her auxiliary forces, <sup>y</sup> and in the beginning of *December* his Lordship took leave of the Court, to set forward on this important expedition. And here it may not seem foreign to our purpose, before we enter upon the particulars of his administration, to look a little backward, and take a view of the commotions which now raged in the Low-Countries, and made it necessary for the Estates of the United Provinces to throw themselves into the arms of Queen *Elizabeth*.

<sup>z</sup> About the year 1556. *Philip* the II<sup>d</sup> had receiv'd the Low-Countries from

<sup>y</sup> Stow's Annals, &c. p. 710.

<sup>z</sup> Description Historique du Gouvernement des Provinces-Unies, &c. par M. Basnage, chap. 4. p. 8. Sir William Temple's *Observations upon the Netherlands*, &c. chap. 1. p. 19. seq. Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, lib. 1. p. 4. seqq.

his father in a very flourishing condition. *Charles* the V<sup>th</sup>, fatigued with the cares of government, and fearful lest some future ill fortune should obscure the glory of his former victories, resign'd his Crowns to his brother and son, and retir'd to a Convent. And *Philip* immediately enter'd upon the government of the seventeen Provinces, swore to observe all their rights and privileges, and took an oath of homage of the Estates Deputies.

*Flanders* at this time enjoy'd a perfect tranquillity, except on the frontiers towards *France*; but peace being soon after restor'd by the treaty of *Cambray*, *Philip* resolv'd to return into *Spain*, and leave the Low-Countries under a subordinate government. This seems to have been the first step which gave offence to the Nobility, who were disobligh'd to see themselves for ever depriv'd of the presence of their Prince, and in effect given up to the yoke of a *Spanish* Ministry. And their dissatisfaction encreas'd upon the exclusion of the  
great

great men of the country from the administration by the nomination of the Duchess of *Parma*, the King's natural sister, who was instructed to continue the *Spanish* troops, and to demand money of the States for their subsistence, tho' contrary to the King's promise of removing 'em.

The erecting of fourteen new Bishopricks was look'd upon as a new grievance. The Lords beheld it as a diminution of their power, by encreasing the number of the Great-Council; and the Abbats, out of whose revenues they were to be endowed, exclaim'd against it as a violation of the rights of the Church, and the will of the dead, who had bequeath'd those lands to a different use.

*France* in the mean while being embroil'd by a religious war, great numbers of *Calvinists* flock'd into the Low-Countries, which border'd upon it, as the persecutions in *Germany* and *England* had before driven many of the *Lutherans* and *English* Protestants into the Provinces about the *Rhine*, into *Flanders*

*ders* and *Brabant*, who by their conversation with the inhabitants had gain'd many profelytes among 'em. This gave occasion to introduce the Inquisition, which was exercis'd with rigour by Cardinal *Granvell*, and became the more odious to the people, as this kind of judicature was unknown to all the antient laws and customs of the country.

Towards the close of the year 1567, the Duke of *Alva* enters *Flanders* with a formidable army, is made Governour of the Provinces upon the retirement of the Duchess of *Parma*, and breathing nought but slaughter, crects a Council of twelve for the trial of all crimes committed against the King, which is call'd by the people, *The Council of Blood*, condemns and executes great numbers by the sentence of this Council, and among the rest, causes the two favourites of the Commons, *Egmont* and *Horne*, to be publickly beheaded at *Brussels*, breaks thro' their charters, tramples upon their liberties, and by his sanguinary proceedings spreads horror and devastation  
wherever



wherever he comes. The Prince of *Orange*, after *Egmont's* process, retires into *Germany*, is charg'd with treason, summon'd to his trial, and not appearing is condemn'd and proclaim'd traitor, and his estate confiscated. Under this rugged treatment the Prince endeavours to draw over to his interest the Princes of *Germany*, casts off all obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, levies an army, and is join'd by vast multitudes, who flock to him on all sides out of the Provinces, takes the field, and after various engagements is forc'd at last to disband his troops, and retire again. *Alva* returns to *Brussels* in triumph, causes his statue to be set up in the Citadel of *Antwerp*, treading upon two smaller statues, which represented the two Estates of the Low-Countries, demands an exorbitant tax for the payment of his forces, and was upon the point of exacting it by violence, when news was brought him of the surprize of *Brill*, and the expectation of a general insurrection throughout the Provinces.

The

The seizure of *Brill* was follow'd by the revolt of the chief towns in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friezland*; the *Spanish* Garrisons were expell'd, the authority of King *Philip* disavow'd, the Prince of *Orange* recall'd out of *Germany*, and the war renew'd with greater cruelty than ever. The King becomes sensible of the danger, removes the Duke of *Alva* from the government, and appoints Don *John* of *Austria* to succeed him; and the administration in the mean while devolving upon the Great Council, they are forc'd by the people to yield to an Assembly of the States, who are call'd together at *Ghent*, and agree upon the Act of Pacification, by which " all foreign soldiers were to  
" be driven out of the Provinces, the  
" antient forms of government restor'd,  
" and matters of Religion in each Pro-  
" vince referr'd to the Provincial E-  
" states; and for performance hereof,  
" the rest of the Provinces were to be  
" for ever confederate with *Holland*  
" and *Zealand*.

K

The

The Pacification is accepted by Don *John* with the King's leave, and the foreign forces accordingly dismiss'd. But the Prince of *Orange*, being inform'd by letters intercepted in *France*, that this step was taken only to amuse the People, and that the new Governor had sent into *Spain* for money to revive the war, and suppress the league, refuses to let the Provinces under his jurisdiction either sign the Pacification, or return to their former allegiance. Hereupon the hostilities are renew'd, and Don *John* on a sudden seizes upon the Castle of *Namur*; but dying soon after, the Prince of *Parma* is chosen to be his successor.

When the Prince of *Parma* enter'd upon the government, there were only three Provinces adhering to the Crown of *Spain*. The army of the Confederates consisted of near fifty thousand men, and were upon the point of laying siege to the General in his camp, if the roughness of the season, and a pestilential sickness then raging among 'em, had not prevented the execution of their design.

design. But upon their retreat a division arising among their Leaders, the discord spread it self into the Provinces; and *Artois* and *Hainault*, being solicited to join the Governour, in spite of all the remonstrances made to 'em by the States General assembled at *Antwerp*, deserted the cause of the Pacification, and went over to the opposite party.

This gave occasion to the Union of *Utrecht*. The Provinces of *Guelderland* and County of *Zutphen*, the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*, *Frise-land*, *Overyssel*, *Groninguen* and the *Omlands*, sign'd this treaty of alliance on the 23<sup>d</sup> of *January*, 1579. and took the name of the *United Provinces*. The towns of *Antwerp*, *Bruges*, *Ypres*, *Breda*, and some others soon after acceded to the Union. They were to be so united, as tho' they had been but one Province, nor could they ever, according to this agreement, be dismembred or alienated by cession, donation, marriage, or any other pretext whatsoever; and in case of an attack they were bound to assist

each other at their utmost hazard. And thus they acted from henceforward as one independent body, whilst the rest of the Provinces submitted to the Governour of the Low-Countries, and recalling the *Spanish* Troops to their aid, enter'd into a league to make war upon their old confederates.

The courage and conduct of the Duke of *Parma*, and the return of the foreign forces to augment the army he had rais'd in *Namur* and *Luxemburgh*, made it necessary for the Republick to seek out for some powerful Protector to divert the storm which hung over 'em. They made application to Queen *Elizabeth*, whose assistance they had before experienced, and press'd her to accept of the Government; they urg'd, that *Philip* the II<sup>d</sup> had broken his publick faith, had usurp'd upon the liberties of the people, and dissolv'd the mutual obligation betwixt him and his subjects; that in submitting to her Majesty, they only restor'd to her the inheritance of her Fathers, since *Edward* the III<sup>d</sup> had espous'd the eldest daughter



daughter of *William of Bavaria*, Count of *Hainault* and *Holland*; and that the House of *Austria* could claim no right of succession to the Low-Countries, but by a descent from the second daughter of the said *William of Bavaria*. The Queen heard 'em favourably, and seem'd not displeas'd with this deduction of her rights to the Low-Country Provinces; but she declin'd to protect 'em openly, 'till upon the assassination of the Prince of *Orange*, and the loss of *Antwerp*, she this year found her self under a necessity in some sort to comply with their demand, to check the prevailing power of *Spain*, and hold the ballance of *Europe* even. However, she refus'd the Sovereignty, and only enter'd into a treaty, by which she oblig'd her self to furnish 'em with a large supply of men and money, which now she sent to 'em under the conduct of her General the Earl of *Leicester*.

<sup>a</sup> At his departure the Queen com-

<sup>a</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c.* lib. 3. p. 326.

manded him to have a special regard to her honour, and to attempt nothing which should be inconsistent with the employment to which he was advanc'd; she order'd him to enquire into the Garisons of the Estates, how many they were, and in what manner maintain'd; and particularly she requir'd him to search into their method of raising and falling the value of money, that so the soldiers might not receive their pay at one rate, and give it out at another; she charg'd him to cut off all supplies of provision from the enemy, and to restrain the mischiefs wrought by the Pirates of *Dunkirk*, and very affectionately recommended to his care the young Noblemen of the country, and more especially the sons of the late Prince of *Orange*.

<sup>b</sup> On the 8<sup>th</sup> of *December* he went on board, attended by the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *North*, the Lord *Audley*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir

<sup>b</sup> Holinghead's Chronicle, &c. p. 1424. Stow's Annals, &c. p. 710.

*Arthur Basset*, *Sir Walter Waller*, *Sir Gervais Clifton*, and several other persons of distinction. His fleet consisted of fifty sail of ships and transports, and directed their course towards *Flushing*, one of the cautionary towns, deliver'd into the hands of *Queen Elizabeth*. On the 10<sup>th</sup> he arriv'd at *Flushing*, and with his whole train, his person being guarded by fifty archers bearing bows and arrows, fifty halberds, and fifty musketeers, was magnificently entertain'd by *Sir Philip Sidney*, Governour of the town for her Majesty, by *Grave Maurice* the second son to the late Prince of *Orange*, by the Queen's Ambassador and the States of the City, who express'd their joy by the ringing of bells, and making of bonfires after the accustom'd manner, which was to fix pitch-barrels on the tops of poles and then to fire 'em. He was lodg'd in the Ambassador's house, and behav'd with so much courtesy and affability, that he easily gain'd the affection of all that approach'd him. The next day he was present at a

fermon in the publick Church, and after dinner return'd to his ships, and set sail for *Middelborough*.

In the mid-way between *Flushing* and *Middleborough* lies the Fort of *Ramekins*, which was garrison'd by *Englishmen*. Here he landed with part of his train, and having view'd the fortification, as he was returning to his fleet, he was presented with fifty pikes on the top of the walls fronting the sea, with the *English* ensign display'd, the discharge of shot, and the sounding of drums and trumpets, for near two hours together. He then departed for *Middieborough*, where the Estates of the country were assembled on the shore, in expectation of his arrival, and receiv'd him with nine ensigns display'd, and great store of shot.

Over the gate by the Port was delineated the Red-Cross of *England*, with the arms of her Majesty and the States. Thro' this gate his Lordship enter'd with his train, and were convey'd from hence to his lodging thro' a guard of musket-shot,

shot, with the banners born before him, the trumpets and drums playing, for near a quarter of a mile. In the midst of the market-place the *English* Standard was advanc'd, and deliver'd to him, and then 'twas born before him with the rest till he came to his palace, where at the request of the States he tarried above two hours before the gates, to observe the march and strength of the soldiers. Of the nine Ensigns there were three that were entirely new upon this occasion. On the first were quarter'd the *English* and the Imperial Arms; on the second were the arms of the Earl of *Leicester* and the Prince of *Orange*; and on the third were emblason'd the seven Provinces, yielded to her Majesty. In a large table over the gate of the *English* Palace in *Middleborough* the Arms of her Majesty were emblason'd alone above the rest, and on the one side under 'em were the Arms of the Lord Lieutenant at large, and not far from them the Arms of the States and their houses link'd together artificially



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cially by a chain, and fasten'd to the *English* Arms, with this motto written underneath, *Quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.*

‘The day after he was magnificently entertain’d in the Stadht-house by the States of the town. There were four courses at the feast. In the first were great variety of boil’d meats; in the second all was rost, pigs were serv’d up on their feet, and wild fowl in their feathers; in the third were baked meats, fowls in pies with their heads and tails unpluckt, and adorn’d with the arms of her Majesty, the Lord Lieutenant, the Provinces, and several *Englishmen*, hanging about ’em; in the fourth was a very extraordinary device, set off with most wondrous art, a castle of chrystal founded upon a rock of pearl, with silver streams flowing round it, in which were represented variety of fowls, fishes, and beasts, some as wounded, some as slain, and others as gasping for breath, and

‘Holingshead’s Chronicle, &c. p. 1425.

over

over 'em was a virgin Lady leaning, and reaching out her hands to their assistance, wrought in a most exquisite manner. Wine and musick, chearful looks and a kind reception, crown'd the entertainment. This feast began at eleven in the morning, and continued till five in the evening. And the day after, to return the favour, the Earl invited the States to dine at his table, and gave 'em a noble repast after the *English* fashion.

His Lordship tarried at *Middleborough* for seven days, and having dispatch'd his affairs determin'd to set sail for *Dort*, which lay about ten hours off. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of *December*, according to the *English* account, he set forward with a fair wind and weather, but a sudden mist arising, the fleet were oblig'd to cast anchor; for the river they were to pass being no other than a country overflow'd by the sea, and fill'd with the old foundations of Houses, Churches and Castles, all sailing except in a clear air was dangerous. On the 20<sup>th</sup> he din'd at  
*William-*

*Williamstat*, and on the 21<sup>st</sup> was met by the States of *Dart* on board several of their men of war, who receiv'd him with the discharge of cannon, and conducted him into the Port in great splendor and triumph.

His own guard was plac'd on the Pier to attend him on his landing; and over the gate, thro' which he was to make his entrance, the Arms of Queen *Elizabeth*, his Lordship, and the States, were emblason'd. He pass'd from the Port thro' a line of *Dutch* musketeers, with eight Ensigns display'd before him, in the midst of which the *English* Standard was advanc'd, and was convey'd to his lodging with the fire of eight hundred pieces. And after his entrance both the muskets and the cannon continued their fire for above an hour. Over the Court-gate as he enter'd, certain *Latin* verses were fix'd upon the wall, representing the state of the Low Countries, which are thus given us in *English* by *Holingshead*.

*The*



*The widow countrie wailing in hir losse,  
Subject to soldiers, and a stranger's crosse,  
By weeping hir misfortune, sits here alone,  
To think of hir pleasures past and gone;  
But after France and Spaine have done their  
woorst,*

*Hir helpelesse yoong ones are by England nurst;  
Blest be that Virgine Queen, that sent this good,  
And blest be he that comes to save our blood,  
Whome to our soules a buckler we maie call,  
And to our countrie we crie welcome all.*

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of *December* his Lordship took boat for *Roterdam*, and pass'd along a narrow and pleasant river of fresh water, where the boats were drawn by men or horses in a very swift and easy manner. Towards night he drew near the town, and was met upon the water by three pleasure-boats, with twelve sailors in each of 'em richly dress'd, and great store of rockets and fireworks; they had all of 'em cressets at the stern, which were heightned as the night came on, and by the reflection of the water made

made up a delightful shew. On the banks stood ranks of soldiers, with a torch or cresset plac'd between every four of 'em, and thus was he brought by water to his lodging, the drums and trumpets playing, and the soldiers discharging large vollies of musket-shot, as he pass'd by. The States attended upon him at supper. And here the inhabitants were so over-joy'd at the arrival of the *English* succours, that they entertain'd the whole army at their own private expence, whilst every citizen strove to go beyond his neighbour in all the offices of friendliness and civility, which could be shew'd to his welcome guest. 'Tis said that the fam'd statue of *Erasmus* was erected in the market-place upon this occasion, where he is represented standing in a pulpit, as tho' he were preaching, and holding his paraphrase upon the four Gospels in his hand, with this inscription underneath,

ERASMUS ROTTERODAMUS.

From

From hence the Earl of *Leicester* made haste towards *Delph*, attended by the States and a magnificent train. He enter'd the town late, but was lighted along the river by cressets and fireworks. He was receiv'd at the port by a file of musketeers, who waited upon him to his lodging, which was the house where the Prince of *Orange* was slain, and congratulated his arrival by the customary discharge of their several pieces. Over the gate the following verses were written in *Latin*:

*Salve perpetuum, Comes Illustrissime, salve,  
 O bene quàm divum nomine gratus ades!  
 Te nihil est gratum magis, optatumque tuendæ  
 Auspiciū fidei quàm patriæque venis!  
 Hinc tibi gratantur leti, sacer ordo, senatus,  
 Et memòr officii cætera turba sui;  
 Spe meliore animi recreantur, gaudia toto  
 Pectore concipiunt pressa dolore diu:  
 Irrita quæ superi nolunt fore cassa que facta,  
 At magis inque dies accumulata volunt,  
 Reginam incolumem teque, Illustrissime, servant,  
 Sospite quâ, tecum patria sospes erit.*

*Dedecus*

*Dedecus infandum, probra turpia multa sequuntur,  
Est mala cui nequam mens animusque malus.*

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of *December* his Lordship was nobly feasted by the States, and the next day he return'd the complement. Besides the States and Count *Maurice*, the Princess of *Des* with an honourable company of Ladies and Gentlewomen grac'd the entertainment. Whilst they were at table they were diverted with a consort of *Dutch* musick, orations in *Dutch* and *Latin*, and all possible expressions of benevolence and regard. On the 27<sup>th</sup> his Lordship remov'd from thence to *Donhage*, and there he determin'd to keep his Court.

He made his entry in the evening by the light of cressets, torches, and fireworks, accompanied by a very glorious train of *Englishmen*, with an hundred and fifty of his guard, the States of *Rotterdam* and *Delph*, and was met upon the water by the States of *Donhage*, and receiv'd in triumph. Several magnificent shews were exhibited, as he enter'd,

ter'd, and addressees paid to him. Fisher-  
men were first plac'd in the harbour re-  
presenting *Peter, James, and John*, and  
our Saviour walking by 'em on the wa-  
ter, and commanding 'em to cast in their  
nets a second time, according to the  
Gospel of *St. Matthew*, and as they  
drew them out laden with fishes, they  
made a shew of presentment to the Earl  
of *Leicester*, who returning his thanks  
passed by. The next representation was  
of poetical Gods. *Mars* and *Bellona*  
sate upon the river, and made a congra-  
tulatory speech to his Lordship upon his  
arrival. At his landing he was met by  
a troop of horse, dress'd in fantastick  
habits, who ran many courses before  
him, and as the streets grew narrow,  
march'd off. As he enter'd the fairest  
street of the town, there were two gal-  
leries hung with black bays erected on  
each side, on which stood fifteen Vir-  
gins cloath'd in white with palm branches  
and lighted tapers in their hands, and  
paid their respects to him as he went  
along. They stood about a spear's length  
L from



from each other, and between every one of 'em was hung up a glass-sconce with a lighted taper, and at the ends of each gallery were placed a Champion and a Moor, the one supporting the Arms of *England*, and the other the Arms of *Holland*. Frequent gates were rais'd of rugged stones, adorn'd with tapers, and the Arms of the principal Artificers of the town. The streets were hung with broad cloths, on which abundance of red crosses were fasten'd, drawn on paper. As the way turn'd, upon an high scaffold rais'd over an arch, an imaginary battle was fought between the *English* and the *Spaniards*, and the *English* prevailing, an inscription was written underneath to this effect, *May our fortune be, as 'tis here represented, and bring freedom to our selves and fame to England*. And farther, these lines in *Latin*, alluding to *Britain*, were expos'd to publick view.

B R I.

## BRITANIA.

*Maris terrarumque fidus,  
 Aequa Romanorum olim imperio  
 Luxit salus, affulsit Constantinus,  
 Qui adsertor libertatis, instaurator  
 Christianæ pietatis:  
 Da & nobis fidam vicinamque dextram.  
 Faxit Deus optimus maximus,  
 Ut reginæ auspiciis, Dudlæi ductibus,  
 Militis tui viribus,  
 Jugo servitutis excusso, bellinimbis discussis;  
 Ex infelicitissimis felicissimi Belgæ simus;  
 Sacro tecum arctoque vincolo juncti.*

As he mov'd forward, a lofty scaffold was erected, on which her Majesty's Arms were plac'd at large; upon it stood seven Virgins, representing the seven Provinces, each holding a spear, and supporting the Arms of the Province, she was to denote; and in the midst was an arm'd *Minerva*, encompass'd with the Arms of *England*, on which the rest seem'd to rely, as was express'd by the following line,

*Adsis ô nostrumque leves regina laborem;*

and these were all presented to her Majesty by an old Champion nam'd *Necessity*. At some distance on a like scaffold, seven persons, expressing the seven liberal sciences, were presented to the Earl, as due to him by merit. The streets were all illuminated, as he pass'd along, and many agreeable inventions devised upon the occasion. Among the rest, over against his Lordship's gate, a barber had so dispos'd above three-score basons of bright copper with a wax candle in every one of 'em, as to make a most glorious shew; and in the midst was placed the rose and crown, with this motto underneath,

*Floreat hæc semper rosa, cujus odore revixit  
Belgia languescens, regina dite potita.*

Upon his entrance into the Court-gate, *Arthur* of *Britain* involv'd in a cloud, whom they compar'd to the Earl,  
was

was discern'd upon a scaffold; and within were entertainments of all kind of musical instruments. Thus was he led in triumph thro' the city, and as he enter'd the great hall, he was welcom'd to his lodging with the discharge of large volleys of shot. Great rejoicings were made in the town all the night long, with variety of fire-works, as rockets, squibs, wheels and balls of fire, and an artificial dragon, which cast out flames for near an hour together.

The next day, on the river adjoining to his Lordship's lodging, a kind of tilting was perform'd upon the water in the following manner. From each end of the river came a boat running with six oars, and an armed man standing in the stern, with a staff in his rest, having a but-end of cork; as they met they encountred, and both fell into the water, where other boats stood ready to assist 'em. This diversion was continued 'till my Lord of *Leicester* grew weary of it, in compassionating the pain of the poor men, that were thrown into the river.

1586. On the 3<sup>d</sup> of *January* his Lordship enter'd *Leyden* with a large retinue of three hundred horse, very richly furnish'd; he was met upon the way by the chief townsmen, who congratulated his arrival among 'em. The first that address'd him were twelve Burgomasters in long black gowns, with the name of *LEYDEN* in large letters of silver upon their shoulders; these were follow'd by twelve of the principal Burgessees, and a large train on horseback, dress'd all in black velvet. From his entrance into the town he was led to his seat thro' a cover'd street of different-colour'd saie, with a canopy born over him; and as soon as he was seated, two men like poets on a stage over against him presented him with the following spectacle, representing the miseries they had endur'd, whilst besieg'd by the *Spaniard* about eight years before.

The first personage that appear'd was a fine woman richly dress'd, denoting the town; she was long assaulted by

*Spaniards*



*Spaniards* with false fires of shot, in order of battle; but not prevailing, they retir'd and continued the siege, 'till such time as provision grew scarce, and then entred Famine, in a proper attire expressive of want, who was follow'd by men rending asunder live cats and dogs, and feeding upon 'em, and soldiers bereaving the women of their children and devouring 'em. She was now attack'd by pestilence, which was attended with heaps of carcasses, buried in a disorderly manner, and at length with the funeral of an officer, who had distinguish'd himself in the service, and was carried over the stage with dead marches, howling trumpets, colours wrapt up, trail'd pikes, and drawn pieces, and as he was laid in the ground, was bid farewell with a volley of shot. The *Spaniards* were next represented as compassionating her miseries, and sending frequent messages to exhort her to yield, to which she return'd no answer, but big with the hopes of assistance order'd a light to be fix'd on the pinnacle

of the highest steeple in the town to give notice to the Prince of *Orange*, who lay at *Delph*, that she expected succour; and he again, by the device of a dove, sent back a promis'd aid, which was return'd with repeated assurances that she would still hold out 'till it should please Providence to favour her. Providence then enter'd the stage, upon whom she lean'd, and seem'd to repose her utmost confidence. By the help of Providence a part of the wall was thrown down in the night with a vawinure of six and twenty poles. Upon this the enemy, apprehending the Prince of *Orange* was enter'd with his force, have recourse to flight, are pursued by the town, and as many as were overtaken are put to the sword, whilst the Lady and her attendants march off in triumph. Another woman was then introduced, arm'd like the former, and besieg'd by a *Spaniard*, courted by a *Frenchman*, and flatter'd twice by an *Italian*; but rejecting the *Spaniard* she hastily leap'd off the stage and hid her self under the  
Earl

Earl of *Leicester's* cloak, and his Lordship receiving her into his protection, the *Spaniard* put on an air of threatening and walk'd off. The Earl led her home to his lodging, and put an end to the shew. The following *English* verses were written on the scaffold.

*We Flemings being banished, now waiting here,  
We are as they in Babilon by the water clere,  
Bicause we would not worship idols, but God's  
word,*

*And might not sing our praise unto the Lord,  
Are we driven out as now dooth appeare,  
But our deliverance is now verie neare,  
For God hath looked upon our miserablenesse,  
And sent us a Prince whom he will blesse,  
Which praised be God as it dooth beseme  
Who hath delivered us from dangerous case,  
And humbled the heart of such a noble Queene  
As hath sent us a Governor now in this space  
Laieing his hand to the warres through his grace.*

<sup>a</sup> Holingshead remarks, that these verses seem to have been made by no Metrician, and conjectures 'em to have been the performance of some citizen of Leyden. See his Chronicle, &c. p. 1427.

*And*

## THE LIFE OF ROBERT,

*And his arm mightilie, the which us defend,  
Thus praised may he be world without end,  
Which sendeth such a Prince above all that  
liveth,  
And one that governs to God's honour now he  
giveth.*

Over the door of the house where his Lordship lay, the following inscription was written.

*Pro auspiciis illustrissimi & generosissimi Comitis Roberti Dudlai, regia majestati apud Anglos à consiliis & gubernatoris Belgiae, &c. ad Hollandos consolatio.*

*Inter Iberiadum furias & tigridis iras  
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri;  
Nos licet innumeris hostilia bella periclis  
Assidue infestent, mille neceſque trahant,  
Noſtra tamen Domini rebus fiducia ſi ſit  
In Domino, miſeris expediet facile.  
Nicanor Leſtrii generis viribus male noſtras  
Cervices pulſat, barbara verba vomens;  
Viribus at Leiceſtranis jugulabitur ille,  
En Machabæus adeſt, qui Nicanora premat,  
Auspicio*

*Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,  
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra levat.  
En, generose comes, Davidis pia facta sequutus,  
Justitiæ exerce jura severa tuæ;  
Et tibi sit præsens magnum qui temperat orbem,  
Ut pede victrici colla teras Golie.*

The next day he was publickly entertain'd by the town, and on the fifth of *January* went back to *Donhage*. Five days after he made a muster of part of his horsemen, to the number of five hundred and more, and distributed 'em into several Garrisons, under several Governors, and nominated the Earl of *Essex* to be General of the horse. He then return'd to *Leyden*, and caus'd a general fast to be proclaim'd throughout *Holland, Gelderland* and *Friseland*, on the 12<sup>th</sup>, which was observ'd with great solemnity and devotion. The Lord Lieutenant spent the day in hearing of sermons and prayer, in reading and singing of Psalms, and neither eat himself, nor suffer'd any belonging to him to taste of meat 'till the evening.

On



On the 19<sup>th</sup> he went from *Leyden* again to *Donhage*, and during his stay there, took occasion to ride to *Sheveling*, a small fisher-town, about two miles from the *Hague*, bordering upon the sea, where he was presented with these verses in *English*:

*Like as the Sea-goddesse Thetis had ingendred  
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,  
So bath now this English Thetis, who all praise  
deserved,  
Sent us this Achilles to our assistance,  
Wherefore we yield him all due reverence.*

In the Great-hall at *Donhage* was the following inscription:

*Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter.*

*Inclyto principi Roberto Dudlao, comiti Leicestriae, inter magnates maxime pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permissu à Regina missò, præfecto ac gubernatori Belgarum, prosperum hunc optatumque adventum toto lætitiæ sinu gratulamur, ecclesiæ*

*ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salutem optamus,  
fæderati ordinis Belgii, addicti celsitudini  
ejus.*

*Deus cœpit, Deus dirigat.*

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of *January* he was visited at *Donbage* by the Prince of *Portugal*, and on the 25<sup>th</sup> his Lordship was installed and sworn, and the States took an oath to the Queen. The manner of the instalment was as follows: At the upper end of the great hall the Lord Lieutenant was seated under the Arms of *England*, and on each side of him, in a descent of two steps, sat twelve of the principal States, and the rest to the number of twenty were plac'd directly before him, but four or five steps lower. On his Lordship's right hand stood the Prince of *Portugal*, the Lord *Morley*, Mr. *Norris* Governor of *Munster*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Robert Germain*, and other persons of distinction: On his left were *Grave Maurice*, the Earl of *Effex*, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Robert Stapleton*, Sir *Thomas Parratt*,  
and

and several others of rank and quality; A large oration was then made in *Dutch*, declaring the cause of the Assembly, and concluding with acknowledgments to the Queen and the Lord Lieutenant. After this, the agreement between the States, the Queen, and his Lordship was read in *Latin*, and being interchangeably deliver'd by my Lord to the States, and by the States to his Lordship, he was desir'd to swear to the observance of the articles contain'd in it, which, holding up his hand to Heaven, he did; and the States in like manner holding up their hands did the same. And then again the States took an oath to the Queen and her Lord Lieutenant, and retiring to his palace, were nobly entertain'd by his Lordship.

In the beginning of *February* he went to the *Hague*, where the States General were assembled, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of the month a grant was given him in writing of the chief government and absolute authority over the United Provinces, in the form following:

A

“ *A PLACARD, containing the*  
 “ *authority given by the States of*  
 “ *the Low-Countries, unto the migh-*  
 “ *tie Prince, Robert Earl of Leices-*  
 “ *ter, Baron of Denbigh, &c. for*  
 “ *the government of the said Low-*  
 “ *Countries.*

“ **T**HE General States of the U-  
 “ nited Provinces of the Low-  
 “ Countries, to all those, which shall  
 “ see or hear these present writings,  
 “ health and dilection. Even as it hath  
 “ pleasid hir Majestie of *England* mer-  
 “ cifullie to send over into these coun-  
 “ tries the high and mightie Prince and  
 “ Lord, Lord *Robert Earle of Leicester*,  
 “ Baron of *Denbigh*, and one of the  
 “ Privie Councell, Knight of the noble  
 “ order of the Garter, and not onlie to  
 “ admit and institute his Excellencie, as  
 “ cheefe head above all militarie soldi-  
 “ ers on horse or foote, which hir Ma-  
 “ jestie hath sent or shall send over  
 “ hereafter into these countries, and to  
 “ the

“ the end to assist us with counsell, aid,  
 “ and advise, according to his great ex-  
 “ perience, policie, and wisdome in the  
 “ direction of publike affairs of the  
 “ land, as well touching the feates of  
 “ warre, as other waies, in conservation  
 “ of all that which most tendeth to the  
 “ profit of the foresaid land, to bring  
 “ back and reduce the same into such  
 “ good order and rule, as it hath bene  
 “ in times past, to the end that so much  
 “ the better and orderlie he maie resist  
 “ the force and tyrannie of our ene-  
 “ mies, and to frustrate all his practices;  
 “ but also besides this to honor and in-  
 “ rich his foresaid Excellencie with  
 “ greater authoritie, might and com-  
 “ mandment, above all her Majesties  
 “ Admerals and Viceadmerals and Ships  
 “ of war, to command them all, and  
 “ to emploie them to the service of  
 “ these countries, and in such order as  
 “ his Excellencie shall find needfull for  
 “ the same countrie; and that his Ex-  
 “ cellencie following her Majesties com-  
 “ mandment, desirous to shew the effect



“ of the good will and affection which  
“ he beareth to these affairs, and to the  
“ preservation of the same; and also  
“ of the true Christian Religion, and  
“ hath imploied himself so willinglie  
“ in the foresaid matters, that his Ex-  
“ cellencie for that onlie cause hath left  
“ and abandoned his native countrie  
“ and goods, and transported himself  
“ hitherward amongst us; so that hir  
“ Majestie and his Excellencie could ne-  
“ ver have doone or shewed unto us a  
“ greater benefit than this.

“ Therefore are we resolved with good  
“ and ripe deliberation to certifie all  
“ men by these presents, that we have  
“ desired, accepted, and authorised the  
“ foresaid mightie and honourable Prince,  
“ Lord *Robert Earle of Leicester, &c.*  
“ to be our Governor and General Cap-  
“ taine over all the United Provinces,  
“ and associat cities and members of  
“ the same. And we give unto his Ex-  
“ cellencie, besides the authoritie of her  
“ Majesty given unto him, the highest  
“ and supream commandement and ab-

M

“ solute

“ solute authoritie above, and in all  
 “ matters of warfare by sea and by land,  
 “ to execute and administat the same  
 “ to the resistance of the enemy, even  
 “ as his Excellencie shall thinke most  
 “ commodious to the preservation of  
 “ those countries; and so further to  
 “ doo all such things, as apperteyne to  
 “ the office of a Generall Captaine.  
 “ And furthermore we committ the  
 “ administration and use of policie and  
 “ justice over the foresaid United Pro-  
 “ vinces and associat cities and members  
 “ of the same into his hands, to exe-  
 “ cute and administat the same with  
 “ such power and authoritie, as have had  
 “ in times past all the other Governors  
 “ of these Low-Countries before him;  
 “ and especiallie, as have beene exer-  
 “ cised, and lawfullie administred in the  
 “ time of *Charles* the V<sup>th</sup>; reserved on-  
 “ lie the lawes and privileges of the  
 “ foresaid countries; also with especial  
 “ power to collect profits and receive  
 “ and administat all the contributions,  
 “ which are agreed and condescended,

“ or shall hereafter be consented or  
“ agreed, to the maintenance of the  
“ warres; and also that which is or  
“ shall be delivered hereafter into his  
“ Excellencies hands; and this all ac-  
“ cording to the vertue of other let-  
“ ters and missives written more at  
“ large touching the same agreement.  
“ All which former charge and com-  
“ mission his Excellencie through our  
“ earnest desire hath accepted, and hath  
“ delivered solemne oth and assurance  
“ into our hands, first of all for the  
“ preservation of the true Christian Re-  
“ ligion, and maintenance of the pri-  
“ vileges and rights of these lands and  
“ provinces, members and cities of the  
“ same.

“ We therefore ordeine and command  
“ all Governors of provinces and cities,  
“ all admerals and viceadmerals, all of-  
“ ficers, coroners, capteins, their offi-  
“ cers and souldiers by sea and land,  
“ and furthermore all other councellors,  
“ officers, treasurors, receivers, bailiffs,  
“ burgomaisters, marshels, magistrats,  
M 2 “ gentlemen,

“ gentlemen, burgers, and other inha-  
“ bitants and subjects of these lands, of  
“ what qualitie or condition soever;  
“ that they and everie of them doo ac-  
“ knowledge his foresaid Excellencie in  
“ the qualitie of government and Cap-  
“ teine Generall over the foresaid U-  
“ nited Provinces, to honor, respect,  
“ and obeie him, as they ought to doo,  
“ without making anie difficultie in  
“ dooing the same upon paine of fal-  
“ ling into the displeasure and anger of  
“ his Excellencie, and to be punished  
“ according to the hevines of the fault,  
“ and as reason shall require. And to  
“ the end, that no bodie should pre-  
“ tend ignorance, we command expresse-  
“ lie to make knowne these ordinances,  
“ to proclaime and publish them, where-  
“ as men are accustomed to proclaime  
“ all publications, proceeding and com-  
“ manding to proceed with rigor against  
“ all disdainors and neglectors of the  
“ same, according to the order of pu-  
“ nishment before mentioned, without  
“ anie favour or dissimulation to the  
“ contrarie,

“ contrarie, because we have thought  
 “ the same to be expedient for the pre-  
 “ servation of the countrie.

GIVEN in our Congregation and  
 Assemblie in the *Hague*, the sixt  
 “ day of *Februarie*, 1586. by  
 “ ordinance of the foresaid Ge-  
 “ neral States.

This Placard being thus pass'd, the Lord Lieutenant applied himself to the business of his charge, and nominated certain superintendents to act under him in the severall Provinces. For *Guelderland* he appointed *Heldebertus Leoninus*; for *Flanders*, *Doelflout Tornedicurke*; for *Holland*, Lord *Va'raven Brederough*, *Sebastian Loron*, *William Birdese*; for *Zealand*, *James Walke*, *Geoise Toiling*; for *Utrecht*, *Paul Buce*; for *Friseland*, *Asmaugh* President of *Friseland*, *Charles Rodee*; all of 'em natives of the countrie, and members of the Great Council. But when news was brought to Queen

\* Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 327. seq.  
 See also Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 477.



*Elizabeth*, how large an honour and authority the States had conferr'd on his Lordship, and that he had accepted it, she very highly resented his proceedings, and immediately dispatch'd her Vice-Chamberlain to him with an expostulating letter, which she express'd in these angry terms.

“ How contemptuously you have carried your self towards us, you shall understand by this messenger, whom we send to you for that purpose. We little thought that one, whom we had rais'd out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour. Whereof though you have but small regard, contrary to what you ought by your allegiance, yet think not that we are so careless of repairing it, that we can bury so great an injury in silence or oblivion. We therefore command you, that, all  
“ excuse

“ excuse set apart, you do forthwith,  
“ upon your allegiance which you owe  
“ unto us, whatsoever *Heneage* our  
“ Vicechamberlain shall make known  
“ to you in our name upon pain of  
“ further peril.

She farther wrote to the States General, and told 'em, “ that to her disgrace, and without her knowledge, “ they had conferr'd the absolute government of the Confederate Provinces upon *Leicester*, her subject; “ tho' she had absolutely refus'd it her self, and by a publick Manifesto declar'd to the whole world, that she “ intended only to relieve and succour “ her neighbours in their distress, and “ no ways to take upon her the sovereignty over them.” She therefore advis'd 'em, “ to turn *Leicester* out of “ that absolute authority, whose commission she had limited; not that she “ thought their cause unworthy to be “ favour'd and assisted, but to provide “ for and secure her own honour, “ which she esteem'd more dear to her “ than life it self.

To these letters the States return'd a submissive answer, express'd their concern at her Majesty's displeasure, excus'd what they had done by the necessity they lay under of granting such an authority to avoid troubles and dissensions, gave a softer sense to the word *absolute* than was generally meant by it, and laid before her the inconvenience of recalling a power they had already given. And at the same time the Earl of *Leicester* lamenting his hard fate in having disoblig'd her, so wrought upon her easy disposition by his feign'd sorrow, that she overlook'd the offence, and acquiesced in the declaration of the States. <sup>f</sup> *Bentivoglio* insinuates, as tho' this step must have before been secretly made known to the Queen, or that the Earl of *Leicester* would not have accepted the government without her private consent. And <sup>g</sup> *Strada* more openly charges her Majesty with an ambitious

<sup>f</sup> *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, Part II. lib. 4. p. 240.

<sup>g</sup> *De bello Belgic.* dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 477.

view of seeking to add the Low-Countries to her *English* Dominions, by so readily permitting *Leicester* to take upon him the Sovereignty. But this imputation seems highly improbable. For if the Queen had been desirous of the acquisition, why did she decline it? The Provinces had twice been offer'd her by a solemn embassy from the States, her Parliament had solicited the acceptance, and promis'd her supplies to support it, and the universal inclination of the people to submit to her, in conjunction with the forces she had ready to send over, must have render'd all opposition to her design impracticable.

As the arrival of the Earl of *Leicester* and the *English* forces had inspir'd the dishearten'd Confederates with fresh courage, so they added to the care and solicitude of the Prince of *Parma*. His Highness had already stood the shock of the *German* succours under the Archduke *Matthias*, and come off triumphant; he had beaten the army of *France* which serv'd under the Duke of *Alençon*; and  
was

was rais'd to an expectation of soon reducing the United Provinces to the obedience of the King of *Spain*, when upon the approach of the *English* troops, he found the supplies of the enemy to encrease upon his hands, and that he had yet a more powerful adversary to engage, than hitherto he had ever encountered. <sup>b</sup> He had determin'd upon the taking of *Antwerp* to make himself master of all the towns, that were situate on the *Maese*, that by this means he might command the river, and unite his forces that lay on the two opposite sides, and farther might convey 'em over with the less difficulty into the country beyond the *Rhine*. But the Confederates had yet two very considerable cities in their possession on the lower side the *Maese*, of which one was *Grave* in the territories of *Brabant*, and the other *Venlo* in *Guelderland*. Against these therefore he directed his force, and tho'

<sup>b</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. p. 240. Strad. de bell. Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 478. Grot. de reb. Belgic. lib. 5.



the winter was not yet over, he sent Count *Mansfield* to lay siege to *Grave*, and gave orders for the besieging of *Venlo* in like manner. The town on one side was well guarded by the river, and fortify'd on the other with strong bastions: And the troops that were in it were part of the *English* foot, brought over by the Earl of *Leicester*, and commanded in chief by *Van Hemart*, a Nobleman of *Guelderland*. When Count *Mansfield* was come before it, he rais'd two forts on each side the *Maese*, that he might have a freer passage over the river; and to cut off all succours from the enemy at *Venlo*, he threw a garrison into the castle of *Warle* between *Venlo* and *Arsen*, to intercept their passage. <sup>1</sup> Colonel *Skinke* at that time commanded in *Venlo*, and finding it inconvenient the *Spaniard* should be possess'd of this post, he gives private orders to his army to be ready to march

<sup>1</sup> Hollingshead's Chronicle, &c. p. 1429. Stow's Annals, &c. p. 716. *Tho' the matter is somewhat differently reported by Strada. See his Hist. de bello Belg. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 478.*

upon

upon the first warning, and without acquainting any of 'em with his design he leads 'em strait to *Warle*. He arriv'd there about noon, at which time provisions were usually carried into the town, and meeting with thirty waggons loaden with victuals, he seiz'd on 'em, and sent certain of his soldiers under the disguise of countrymen, who on pretence of supplying the garrison threw down one of the waggons in the gate, and giving the signal to *Skinke*, he enter'd the place without any resistance, and carried both the town and castle. But hearing within some few days after that an army was marching to prevent his retreat, he set fire to 'em both, and ravag'd the country, and falling upon the enemy when they least expected him, he made a great slaughter of 'em, and took five of their Ensigns, which he sent to the Lord Lieutenant.

\* In the mean time his Lordship was taking his progress thro' the country,

\* Hollingshead's Chronicle, &c. p. 1429.

courted

courted and caress'd by the great men, and receiv'd with loud acclamations of the people, wherever he came. In the beginning of *March* he left the *Hague* and went to *Leyden*, and from thence he pass'd to *Harlem*, where he was entertain'd with all imaginable pomp and magnificence. He was met at some distance from the gate by the principal Burghers of the town, who congratulated his arrival among 'em in a long *Latin* oration, address'd to him by a venerable old man, that was one of their company. As he enter'd the gate, a virgin sat over it apparell'd in white, with an escutcheon in her hand, whereon were painted the arms of *England*, adorn'd with red roses, and underneath the following inscription:

*Euge Calidonia princeps celebrate per urbes,  
 Ingredere Harlemi mœnia fida tui,  
 Me licet Hispanus plusquam civilibus armis  
 Presset, ac horrifico Mulciber igne deus:  
 Haud tamen extremo mihi eris decorandus honore,  
 Nam tua corde pio sceptrâ fideque colam:*  
*Ipse*

*Ipse rosæ afflictos clypeo si texeris omnes,  
Donabis Batavos pace, Roberte, larès.*

Passing farther into the town, a scaffold was erected, whereon were seated several personages, and among the rest a woman supporting the Arms of *England* in one hand, with a sword in the other; and before her lay divers persons slain, with these verses underneath,

*Vana fugat verum veluti mendacia purum,  
Sic vitiorum abigat tua, dux, præsentia Lernam.  
Veritas, verbum Dei.*

At some little distance was the representation of the Queen of *England*, with the sword of justice in her hand, and envy, tyranny, and other monsters prostrate at her feet, with these verses underwritten,

*Justitia infestos frænat pietate tyrannos,  
Sic tuus adventus cuncta, Roberte, mala.*

Still farther, in a fair market-place,  
 was rais'd a pillar of an immense height,  
 with a crown placed upon it, and en-  
 circled around the base with a chaplet  
 of roses, and the following inscription,

*Elizabeth regina, atavis quæ regibus orta est,  
 Hunc dedit atroci qui nos tueatur ab hoste;  
 Ergo ducem juvenis meritò venerare senexque  
 Munere quando Dei Geticum nympa ista fugabit.*

*Pyramidum Phariæ fileant miracula gentes,  
 Quamque vetus molem duxit ad astra Rhodos,  
 Jam tibi, dux, vilem pro tempore ponimus, ut hac  
 Aurea, si possem, concelebrandus eris.*

Over the entrance of his Lordship's  
 palace stood a bear with a ragged staff,  
 and these verses,

*Venisti ô avibus tandem felicibus heros,  
 Regia quem nobis munere nympa dedit;  
 Virgo Caledonias ad sidera nota per oras,  
 Ultima spes fessis presidiumque viris;  
 Reddere te sine quis patriæ saturnia regna  
 Possset, & armisoni pellere tela dei?*

*Vera*



*Vera etenim de te si, dux, oracula fantur,  
 Hæc, Dudlæe, teget nos sine Marte rosa;  
 Pacificè rege, regnis lætantibus, heros,  
 Pacifico quis non principe lætus erit?*

Great variety of shews then follow'd, and during his stay here nothing pass'd but feasting and entertainments. From *Harlem* he took his journey to *Amsterdam*, and was met on the way by several men of war, which brought him thro' the course of a long river into the town. Over this river were three strong bridges lin'd with soldiers, and on the first of 'em were planted ten or twelve pieces of ordnance, which were all discharg'd as soon as his Excellency had pass'd by.

Below the bridge were two pageants of a monstrous size, representing *Nep-tune*, the one in the shape of a sea-horse, and the other of a dolphin, with riders on the backs of each of 'em; and these attended upon him to the place of his landing, where he was receiv'd by a company of soldiers, and a large  
 I volley

volley of musket-shot. On a scaffold directly before him was then express'd the story of *Moses* and *Aaron* and *Hur* and *Joshua*. An old man was kneeling upon the scaffold with his arms lift up to heaven, and supported by two assistants on each side of him. And below was the army of the *Amalekites* put to flight, with the Children of *Israel* pursuing. This was applied to the Earl of *Leicester* and the *English* succour, whom God had sent to their relief at the intercession of the righteous. These verses were written underneath.

*Ad Dominum qui confugiunt cum fœdere paupis  
Innocuis palmis, manet hos victoria leta.*

Not far from thence, upon another scaffold, was to be seen a person in distress, and ready to be slain by a tyrant; but upon application to Queen *Elizabeth*, he was deliver'd from the danger which hung over him, and the enemy repuls'd; over his head were these verses,

N

*Eja*

*Eja age magne, veni, ó Anglorum duñtor, &  
altos*

*Ingredere & celebres cape quos spondemus honores.*

On the one side,

*Iustitia & æquitas maxime  
Reddunt diuturnum imperium.*

On the other,

*Fides sacra beatissimum humani  
generis bonum est.*

Over all was written as follows,

*Maximè ubi ancipiti filo pia causa tremiscit,  
Ex insperato sæpe redemptor adest.*

Passing farther, a Queen was represented on another scaffold, array'd in all the pomp of Majesty, with great variety of arms and ammunition around her, and over her head the following inscription,

*Ut sacra Josiæ dextrâ olim restituisti,  
Sic ope reginæ Belgas, Deus optime, serva.*

The rest of the day was spent in mirth and gladness, and all the night after in bonfires and fireworks, and other expressions of joy and triumph.

From *Amsterdam* the Lord Lieutenant pass'd by the castle of *Mullen*, and *Norden*, to *Utrecht*, where he was no less magnificently entertain'd than he had been in all other places. About four miles from *Utrecht* he was met by twelve hundred horse, and about a mile from the city, by three or four thousand soldiers on foot, who then marched before him into the town. The Burgessees attended upon him at his entrance, and one of 'em made a long oration in their own language. Several pageants were rais'd upon the occasion, and among others a lion wounded in its foot was represented as complaining of its grief, and applying to Queen *Elizabeth* for assistance receiv'd a remedy from her.

But to return to the siege of *Grave*. <sup>1</sup>As

<sup>1</sup> Strada de bello Belgico, dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 480. seq.  
See also Hollingshead's Chronicle, &c. p. 1431. seq.  
and Bentivoglio's Hist. of the Wars of Flanders, &c.  
Part II. lib. 4. p. 240.

this place was of great importance, and the *Spaniards* used their utmost efforts to carry on the siege, all possible preparations were made to relieve it. Count *Hollack*, being reinforc'd with a considerable body of *English* troops, had seiz'd upon *Battenburgh*, not far from the town, had rais'd a fort upon the dike, fortify'd it with a large intrenchment, and placed in it a garrison of eight hundred men, resolving from hence to march out and succour the besieg'd. To prevent this inconvenience, Count *Mansfield* gave orders to Don *John d'Aquila* to march before with his brigade against the enemy, whilst himself and *Basta* would follow after with part of the horse. *Aquila*, pursuant to these directions, crossing over the river with his men, discerns the enemy at some distance directly against him. His eagerness for the fight made him forgetful of Count *Mansfield's* orders, and without waiting for the arrival of his additional force, he disposes his men in order of battle, and prepares for the attack. But



a disagreement arising between him and some other of the leaders, his army was in disorder when he began the onset, and thus the victory very easily inclin'd to the *English*. In the mean time a fresh squadron of *Spaniards* coming in to their assistance, the fight was renew'd, and the conquest for some time remain'd uncertain, till at last the *English* began to retire, and left the field, and the entrenchments they had made, to the enemy. But the *Spaniards* pursuing their victory too far fell upon General *Norris*, who was marching with a reinforcement of a thousand men to the aid of Count *Hollack*. Upon this they came to a new engagement, and the *English* did wonders. The *Spaniards* breathless and dishearten'd had recourse to flight, and the *English* once more recover'd the fort and entrenchment which had been taken from 'em. They continu'd their pursuit a full *English* mile, and were upon the point of entering *Grave* with their succours, when upon a sudden another body of the enemies troops

N 3

appear'd,

appear'd, who had pass'd the *Maese* with a view to retard their passage. This supply surpriz'd the *English*, and animated the *Spaniards* with fresh courage to make a stand against the enemy. The engagement was very dreadful, upon account of the valour of the two armies, and their resolution to maintain their ground. For near two hours together they fought with the utmost fury, and when by reason of the violent rains, which fell during the action, the soldiers were not always able to keep upon their feet, they rais'd themselves on their knees, and in this posture receiv'd the enemy's charge. But the storm and winds encreasing, both armies were oblig'd to quit the field, and as 'tis usual on such occasions, both claim'd the victory. <sup>m</sup> The advantage however was evidently on the *English* side.

The

<sup>m</sup> Strada in his partiality to the Spaniard reports, that there fell only two hundred and thirty on the side of Spain in this engagement, and that the enemy lost at least seven hundred of their men, *De bello Belgico*, dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 483. But it manifestly appear'd from an intercepted letter to the Prince  
of

The day after the battle General *Norris* sent the following account of what had pass'd to the Earl of *Leicester*, then resident at *Utrecht*.

*A COPY of a " Letter sent by General Norris from his road by Rawston, near Grave, to the Lord Lieutenant.*

" **M** A I E it plese your Excellencie  
 " to be advertised, that find-  
 " ing the wind to be contrarie, we be-  
 " ing to intrench our selves this last  
 " night within one houres march to  
 " *Grave*, the which the enimie finding,  
 " came with a resolute mind, before  
 " we had ended our worke, and put  
 " us from the place, where we had not  
 " above three hundred *Englishmen*, and

*of Parma, that six hundred of the Spaniards were slain, and among these several officers of note; whereas of the Confederates army only one hundred and sixty one were kill'd or taken prisoners, and three and thirty wounded. In the retreat five hundred fourscore and nineteen threw away their arms. See Holingshead's Chronicle, &c. p. 1432.*

<sup>a</sup> Holingshead's Chronicle, &c. p. 1432.

“ having sent for the rest, being eight  
“ hundred or thereabout, to come with  
“ all speed, to us; but in the meane  
“ time the enimie did so over-charge  
“ us, and with fresh men, having then  
“ in place above three thousand that  
“ were fastened on us, after that we  
“ had bidden and driven a brave charge,  
“ to leave the place, and meeting with  
“ the rest of our *Englishmen*, in one  
“ half mile retract we turned and forced  
“ them to quit the place, and had the  
“ killing of them above one *Englisch*  
“ mile; and then by meanes of a sud-  
“ den raine that fell, and the wearinesse  
“ of our soldiors, we made a retract,  
“ in the which I dare assure your Ex-  
“ cellencie we lost not above ten men;  
“ but the souldiors upon the retract  
“ threw away much of their armor.  
“ In this companie, there is my self  
“ hurt, Capteine *Burrowes*, and Cap-  
“ teine *Price*, and diverse other Gen-  
“ tlemen, that did serve most trulie.  
“ I dare assure your Lordship that there  
“ was not seene a better daies service  
“ in

“ in this countrie than this, and your  
“ Honor shall doo well to signify by  
“ your Honor’s letters partlie to all the  
“ townes of *Holland*, that the enimie  
“ hath lost a great companie of brave  
“ men, and most of their leaders, that  
“ which your Excellencie shall find most  
“ true. I find that your Excellencie is  
“ not to make account of anie other  
“ nation than your owne; for after  
“ the first retract, there would verie few  
“ *Dutchmen* turne back with us: but  
“ your Excellencie should do well to  
“ take no knowledge of it. And if  
“ the raw souldiers would have beene  
“ commanded, we might have kept the  
“ place that we came to intrench our  
“ selves in, but for want thereof we  
“ did retract to *Marbnanble*. Assure  
“ your Honor, that I will to the utter-  
“ most of my power doo your Honor  
“ what I maie, to the hazzarding of my  
“ life to doo your Excellencie honor  
“ and service, as knoweth the Almightie,  
“ to whose ruition I commit your  
“ Excellencie. From the rode in my  
“ bed,



“ bed, before *Rawston*, the sixt of *A.*  
 “ *prill*.

“ I MUST signifie to your Honor  
 “ that Countie *Hollocke*, Countie *Phi-*  
 “ *lip*, my brother *Henrie*, and divers  
 “ other Gentlemen did serve this daie  
 “ most bravely. Having taken counsell,  
 “ we fullie mind to retire to *Maseumble*,  
 “ where if it please your Excellencie to  
 “ send us three hundred horses, and  
 “ putting the rest of the horses in ga-  
 “ risons in the towns thereabouts and  
 “ send us the rest of the footmen, we  
 “ shall have a daie with them againe,  
 “ within these ten daies, doubt not.

*Your Excellencies most humble*  
*to command,* GENERALL NORRIS.

° The Engagement being over, the encrease of the waters by the fall of the late rains furnish'd Count *Hollack* with an opportunity of supplying the town with forces and provisions, which he had hi-

° *Strada de bello Belgico*, dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 484.  
*See also Hollingshead's Chronicle*, &c. p. 1433.

therto so oft fought for in vain. He cut the banks of the *Maese* towards *Ravestein*, and so overflow'd the country, that his smaller vessels were able to pass to *Grave*, and return without any difficulty. With six and thirty of these he enter'd upon the expedition, and tho' the *Spaniards* thundred upon him with their cannon, and several companies of 'em marching up to the middle in water strove to divert him from his enterprize, yet all prov'd ineffectual, and he landed his men with safety, in sight of the enemy.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of *April* the Earl of *Leicester* kept the feast of *St. George* at *Utrecht*, with great pomp and solemnity. <sup>p</sup> The following account of it is given us by *Stow* and *Hollingshead* from the description of *William Seager* or *Portcullis*, an officer of arms in the service.

The streets of *Utrecht* were rank'd with eight ensigns of Burghers richly

<sup>p</sup> *Stow's Annals, &c.* p. 714. *Hollingshead's Chronicle, &c.* p. 1433.

appointed,

appointed, and wearing scarfs upon their arms knit like roses red and white, in the midst of whom the procession march'd on horseback from the Lord Lieutenant's Palace to the Cathedral Church. First rode the trumpeters, cloath'd in scarlet lac'd with silver, sounding their instruments, their bannerols being display'd and richly limned with his Lordship's arms. Next came the Gentlemen, Captains, Colonels, and her Majesties sworn men, to the number of forty horse, in gold and silver stuffs, and various colour'd silks. These were follow'd by six Knights, four Barons, the Council of the Estates, the Earl of *Effex* and the Electoral Bishop of *Cologne*, and the Prince of *Portugal* by himself. After whom march'd the Captain of the Guard, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household, bearing white staves, two Gentlemen Ushers, and *Portcullis* Herald in a rich Coat of Arms of *England*. And last of all came the Lord Lieutenant invested in the robes of the Order, and guarded by the principal Burghers of the town, who offer'd themselves

themselves to this service, besides his own Guard, which consisted of fifty halberds in scarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet. In this state he was conducted to the Church, and paying his reverence to her Majesty's seat, which was erected on this occasion upon the right hand, he took his stall on the left, which was situate some degrees lower. After prayers and the sermon were ended, he proceeded to the offering, first for her Majesty and then for himself, which part of the service he perform'd with such a grace and majestic deportment, as procur'd him the applause of the whole assembly.

From hence they return'd to dinner, and were very honourably entertain'd at his Lordship's Palace. At the upper end of the hall was a sumptuous cloth and chair of state, design'd for Queen *Elizabeth*, with her Majesty's arms and stile upon it, and before it a table cover'd in the same manner, as if her Highness had been present; and at the lower end of it on the left hand, were plac'd the stool  
and

and plate of the Lord Lieutenant, for he would have no chair. The company being assembled, his Lordship knighted Sir *Martin Skencke* before the chair of state, for the many services he had done to his countrey, and then the Ushers marshall'd the feast. The dishes were brought up into the Hall with the sound of trumpets, were serv'd on the knee, and carv'd and tasted to her Majesty's trencher.

The side-tables were all furnish'd in silver plate, and waited on by Gentlemen, and upon the removal of the first course, and placing the second upon the Queen's board, the Ushers cried, *A hall*; which being made with some difficulty, by reason of the crowd, they brought up between them *Portcullis* Herald, invested with the Arms of *England*, who after he had thrice paid his reverence to the Chair of State, pronounc'd in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, the Queen's Majesty's usual stile, *Of England, France and Ireland, Defendress of the Faith, &c.* and then cry'd aloud thrice *Largeffe*.

When



When dinner was over, there pass'd several entertainments of dancing, vaulting, and tumbling; and after supper several feats of chivalry were perform'd, wherein the Earl of *Effex* distinguish'd himself by his skill above the rest.

<sup>a</sup> From *Utrecht* his Excellency pass'd to *Arnheim* with a considerable force, designing to relieve the besieg'd in *Grave*. In the mean time the Prince of *Parma*, displeas'd with the success of Count *Hollack*, writes to *Altapenna* to leave the siege of *Nuis*, and march with his troops towards *Grave*; and that he might the sooner put an end to this affair, he presently after goes thither in person, and carries with him the whole body of the *Spanish* army to his assistance. He caus'd great haste to be made in raising the batteries, making the trenches, and doing whatever else was necessary for carrying on the assault: But as he was one day riding to take a view

<sup>a</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. Part II. lib. 4. p. 241. Strada de bello Belg. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 485. *seq.* Stow's *Annals*, &c. p. 718.

of the works, he was spy'd by a cannoner of the enemy, who strait discharg'd his piece upon him, slew his horse under him, and very narrowly mis'd his person. The apprehension of his being slain spread terror among the *Spanish* troops, and gave new life and vigour to the besieg'd. But to prevent any ill consequences arising from the misreport, he strait mounted another horse, shew'd himself to the army, and to convince the adversary he was still alive, dispatch'd a trumpet to the town in his own name, demanding an immediate surrender. But the Messenger returning with an unfavourable answer, he gave orders to proceed in the batteries with all possible expedition. The same day the *Spaniards* receiv'd a considerable damage by a fire-ball from the town, which falling amongst their powder, blew up their principal fort, and slew great numbers of their men. And some time after they attack'd the lower town, and were repuls'd with loss. The Earl of *Leicester* was now pass'd from  
*Arnhem*

*Arnheim* to the camp at *Nimeguen*, had made himself master of the forts, and was contriving in what manner he might best succour the besieg'd, when upon the Prince of *Parma's* having finish'd his works, the Governour's courage began to fail him, and he sent to his Highness to treat of a surrender. The Prince was not unwilling to grant him any conditions, that he might the sooner dispatch this enterprize, and repair to *Venlo*. And thus the garrison march'd out of the town with their arms and baggage, and colours display'd. 'Tis said, that Van *Hemart* was induced to capitulate by the persuasions of an harlot; however, his cowardice cost him his life. The Earl of *Leicester* presently order'd him to be apprehended, and for an example of terror caus'd him and two other officers concern'd with him, to be put to an ignominious death. There were found in the town, 'as *Strada* reports, twenty seven pieces of

<sup>2</sup> Grot. de reb. Belgic. &c. lib. 4.

<sup>1</sup> De bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 488.

O

cannon,

cannon, an hundred and eight barrels of gunpowder, and a sufficient quantity of provision to support six thousand men for a whole year.

Whilst the Prince of *Parma* lay before *Grave*, 'the Earl of *Leicester* was busied in driving the *Spaniards* out of the *Betawe*, an island form'd by the rivers of *Rhine* and *Wael*. Upon the surrender of the fort at *Nimeguen*, he return'd to *Arnheim*, and sent from thence twelve hundred of his men to seize upon the *Sconce* of *Barrikes-hoofe*, a place of great importance, which was surrender'd the day after at discretion. Among the soldiers was found a kinsman of Count *Hollack's*, who as soon as he saw him, cry'd out, " Ha! Villain, art thou a traitor to thy country and his Excellency? I here disclaim all relation to thy blood:" and with that he drew his sword and slew him. The *English* were no less successful at *Bergenopzome*, where the Lord

\* Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 328.  
Stow's *Annals*, &c. p. 730.

*Willoughby*

*Willoughby* of *Eresby* set upon a convoy, that was going to *Antwerp*, seiz'd four hundred and eighty waggons laden with provisions, carry'd off a thousand horses, slew two hundred men, and took four hundred prisoners.

From *Grave* the Prince of *Parma* march'd into *Guelderland*, and sat down before *Venlo*, with an army of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. This city was strongly fortify'd both by nature and art, but his Highness presently made himself master of all the avenues without, and then employ'd his utmost efforts to surround those within with his accustom'd works. An island, that lay before the town, serv'd the besieg'd as a good defence towards the river; and the Prince particularly sought by all means possible to deprive 'em of this advantage. But as the river was not fordable, and the force of his artillery from the banks was insufficient to drive out the defendants, he caus'd four of his

\* *Bentivoglio's Hist. of the Wars of Flanders, &c.*  
p. 241.



largest barks to fall down from *Maef-tricht*, and resolv'd to attack 'em from thence. His project was to make an assault on every side of the island at once, and at the same time to batter the fort with his cannon from the land. The scheme succeeded according to his expectation, and the *Spaniards* landed their troops, and the enemy was expell'd, almost in the same instant. This success was very terrifying to the besieg'd, but they were encouraged to hold out by the Earl of *Leicester* and Sir *Martin Skenke*, whose wife and sister being within the town, he was led by his private no less than the publick interest, if possible, to succour 'em. \* To this end, in conjunction with Sir *Roger Williams*, a *Welsh* officer, he attempted to break thro' the enemies camp at midnight, and enter the city, with five hundred horse. And having kill'd the watch, they made a great slaughter of the ene-

\* Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 328.  
*Strada de bello Belgico*, dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 490.  
*Stow's Annals*, &c. p. 733.

my, and forc'd their passage almost as far as the Prince of *Parma's* tent; but being there repuls'd, they were oblig'd to retreat with some loss, tho' the far greater part of 'em escap'd. The *Spaniards* hereupon renew'd their attack with vigour, \* and the common people, being dishearten'd with their ill fortune and the slender appearance of any farther assistance, rais'd a commotion within the town, and compell'd the garrison to a surrender against their inclination. The wife of *Skenke*, with the rest of his family, was honourably treated by the Prince of *Parma*, and sent back to her husband in his Highness's own chariot, with all her substance.

† In the mean time the Lord Lieutenant was taking a progress through the countrey, and disposing of every thing to the best advantage, whilst his nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*, and *Grave Maurice* the Prince of *Orange's* son, en-

\* Grot. de reb. Belgic. &c. lib. 4. Strad. de bello Belgico, dec. 2. lib. 7. p. 493. seq.

† Stow's Annals, &c. p. 733.

ter'd *Flanders* and took *Axel* by surprise. <sup>2</sup> The honour of the contrivance, and the execution of this considerable action, is given to Sir *Philip Sidney*, who is here said to have reviv'd the ancient discipline of order and silence in the march of his soldiers. They scal'd the walls of the town by ladders in the night, and forcing their way directly into the market-place, a chosen company was order'd to make a stand there for security to the rest, who were sent up and down the town by the direction of their commanding officers. And when their service was done, Sir *Philip* liberally rewarded every one of 'em according to his merit, out of his own private fortune.

<sup>a</sup> Encourag'd by this success, he next made an attempt upon *Gravelin*. He had private notice given him by *La Motte* the Governour of the town, that upon his approach the place should be

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of Sir Ph. Sidney, by Sir Fulke Grevil*, ch. 9. p. 135.

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.* p. 136. and *Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c.* lib. 3. p. 329.

yielded

yielded up into his hands. But fearing to rely upon the promise of an enemy, he judg'd it his duty to proceed in the affair with great wariness and circumspection. He therefore call'd together his officers, and laying before 'em his suspicions, caus'd the inferior sort of 'em to cast dice upon a drum-head, who should be sent on this dangerous expedition; and the lot falling on Sir *William Brown*, his own Lieutenant, Sir *Philip* order'd him, in case of any fraudulent dealing, to throw down his arms and yield himself prisoner, in expectation of a future ransom. When the company had set forward on their march they found all the outward signals exactly perform'd; but no sooner were they enter'd the town, and arriv'd at a sufficient distance beyond the gate, than they were attack'd on every side by a discharge of shot from windows and cellars. Upon discovery of the treachery, the commanding officer threw down his arms, as he was directed, and was taken prisoner; the rest attempted

a retreat, but were so closely pursued, that only eight of 'em escap'd alive. <sup>b</sup>In the mean time the Lord Lieutenant, remaining at *Utrecht*, had information that five hundred of the enemy were enter'd the town in the habits of countrymen, with design to betray it. But a strict enquiry being made after all persons of a suspicious character, there were three only to be found, who were straightway committed to prison.

<sup>c</sup>From *Venlo* the Prince of *Parma* took his march to *Nuis*, where the enemy had strongly fortify'd themselves, and did much damage to the neighbouring country by their frequent excursions; and here he was join'd by the Elector of *Cologne*, at whose solicitations he enter'd upon the expedition. *Nuis* is situate upon the *Rhine*, which taking in a small compass not far from the walls, forms a little island directly before it,

<sup>b</sup> Stow's Annals, &c. p. 733.

<sup>c</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. p. 242. Strada de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 8. p. 495. seq.



in which the besieg'd had rais'd two considerable forts, in order to defend it. The front of this island was assign'd to the troops of *Spain*, and the other side of the town towards the land to the *Italians*. The *Spaniards* began the attack with great vigour, and were as bravely repuls'd by the defendants. But upon the second effort the islanders were oblig'd to give way, and fled into the city. Being thus masters of the island, they planted their cannon against the walls, which were well defended by a large tower, that faced the river; however, by frequently repeating their assault, they at length obtain'd possession of this post also. The *Italians* were no less courageous in pushing on the siege on the opposite side; insomuch that the inhabitants despairing of any relief, and finding themselves unable to hold out any longer, dispatch'd a messenger to the Prince of *Parma* with offers of a capitulation. But the army was so highly incens'd against them, that even while they were engaged in a treaty of surrender,  
and

and a cessation of arms had been agreed to on both sides, <sup>d</sup> the *Spaniards* and *Italians* renew'd their attack, in direct opposition to all military faith, and the exprefs command of the Prince of *Parma*. The besieg'd were astonish'd at this proceeding, and for some time stood upon their defence. But at last being forc'd to give way, the enemy enter'd in an hostile manner, and put all they met with to the sword. In the midst of their fury <sup>e</sup> they set fire to the town, and the houses being almost universally made of wood, and the wind conspiring with the flame, the whole city was in a short time reduced to ashes, and only eight houses and two churches were left remaining.

<sup>d</sup> So Bentivoglio, in his *History of the Wars of Flanders*. But Strada, in his zeal for the Spaniards, charges the breach of faith upon the inhabitants, and says they first began to fire upon the camp, before they were assaulted by the Spanish army. See his *Hist. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 8. p. 505.*

<sup>e</sup> Stow reports, that the town was fired by the lacqueys and boys belonging to the English soldiers. *Annals, &c. p. 734.*

Upon

<sup>f</sup> Upon the burning of *Nuys*, the Duke of *Parma* (for his father was now dead) march'd with his camp to *Reinberch*, a town garrison'd by twelve hundred *English*, under the command of Colonel *Morgan*, and sat down before it. The Earl of *Leicester* made all possible haste to raise the siege, but finding his army inferior to the enemy, ill-furnish'd with provisions, and that no place of retreat was near at hand, he strove to divert them from their attempt, by laying siege to one of their own towns. He was then on the other side the *Rhine*, in the Province of *Overysfel*, not far from *Zutphen*, the most considerable place in all that country, and garrison'd by *Spaniards*. To render the conquest of this city the more easy, he determin'd first to take *Doesburg*, a small town upon the river *Iffel*, which would prove very serviceable to him in

<sup>f</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c.* lib. 3. p. 329.  
 Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders, &c.*  
 p. 243. Strad. de bello Belg. dec. 2. p. 519, 522.  
 seq.

the

the carrying on of his great design. There were at that time three hundred *Walloon* foot in *Doesburg*, which might have been able, by the advantage of their situation, to have held out against him for a long season; but as soon as the *English* had open'd their trenches and rais'd their batteries, the defendants demanded a parley, and surrender'd the town into his Lordship's hands.

From *Doesburg* his Excellency march'd with his army to *Zutphen*, and laid siege to it. This town lies at some distance from the *Yffel*, but had a fort upon it of incredible strength, which Count *Hollack* and the *English* had endeavour'd to carry, but in vain, for some two years before. The Earl of *Leicester* encamp'd on both sides the river, and having made a bridge of boats to join his army together, first strove to make himself master of the fort, as the most likely means to facilitate his gaining the town. But

\* Stow's Annals, &c. p. 736. See also Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. p. 243. and Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 8.

not being able to bring about his design, he order'd two other forts to be rais'd on each side of it, to prevent the enemy's issuing out from it to incommode his camp. *Baptista de Tassis* was then Governor of *Zutphen*, who immediately gave notice to the Duke of *Parma*, that the town was in great danger of being taken, unless speedily reliev'd by his Highness, for the quantity of provision in it was not sufficient for the number of inhabitants. The Duke had already made some progress in the siege of *Reinberch*, and got possession of the island which lay before the town; but fearing lest his longer stay should be of prejudice to *Zutphen*, having left a sufficient force to defend his conquest, he march'd streight to its relief.

As he was upon his march, he had information that the Count *de Meurs* had rais'd a body of two thousand *Ruiters* on the confines of *Germany*, and was going to assist the enemy. He therefore made choice of fifteen hundred horse, and a select company of *Spanish* foot,  
and



and commanded 'em with all possible speed to march against 'em. The *Ruiter*s not expecting any opposition, were in no good order, and unprepar'd for an engagement. <sup>h</sup> And thus the *Spaniards* falling upon 'em at unawares, very easily became masters of the field.

From hence the Duke continued his march towards *Zutphen*, and came so near the town, that he prepar'd to send in succour. <sup>i</sup> The care of the convoy was committed to the Marquis of *Vasto*, who was order'd to advance with some troops of *Italian* horse, and a large squadron of foot, consisting of *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Walloons*. The horse led

<sup>h</sup> Strada reports this matter with some difference; he says, that the German troops were at variance with their leader the Count de Meurs, for want of pay; that being disappointed of the sums promis'd him by the Earl of Leicester, he had retir'd from the camp; and that the Duke of Parma, advis'd of this disagreement, had sent to draw 'em over to the King of Spain's obedience, and had so far wrought upon 'em by his persuasions, that each return'd to their respective homes without coming to blows. See his *Hist. de bello Belgic.* dec. 2. lib. 8. p. 530.

<sup>i</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, p. 243. Stow's *Annals*, &c. p. 737.

the van, and were bravely oppos'd by some troops of the *English*, who charg'd 'em with so much courage, that they threw 'em into disorder, and forc'd 'em to a retreat; but recollecting courage, they resum'd the fight, and the victory for a long time stood doubtful. The Earl of *Effex*, Lord General of the Horse, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Audley*, Sir *William Stanley*, 'Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *John Norris*, distinguish'd themselves upon this occasion. The enemy lost a considerable number of their bravest officers, and amongst others, Count *Hannibal Gonzaga* was dangerously wounded, and *George Cressia*, the General of the *Albanois*, was taken prisoner, after he had been unhors'd by the Lord *Willoughby*. At length the squadron of *Spanish* foot advanc'd, and supporting the horse put a stop to the violence of the *English*, and gave time for the Duke of *Parma* to come up. He came in order of battle, with a resolution to fight, if the enemy should oppose his passage.

passage. But the Earl of *Leicester* judg'd the attempt too hazardous, and ordering a retreat to be sounded, suffer'd him to enter *Zutphen* with his forces in quiet, and to leave the town well provided.

<sup>k</sup> The greatest misfortune the *English* sustain'd in this action, was the loss of Sir *Philip Sidney*, who receiv'd a wound in his thigh, of which he dy'd the 25<sup>th</sup> day after. He was cut off in the flower of his age, and died much lamented, as his behaviour had stood recommended by a long train of exemplary virtues, which had gain'd him an universal esteem. As he was returning from the fight, he had call'd for drink, to assuage the thirst which his excess of bleeding had occasion'd; but spying a soldier to be carried along, just ready to expire, who with eagerness cast up his eyes to the cup, he withdrew it from his lips, and presenting it to him, "Thy

<sup>k</sup> *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney, &c.* chap. 12. p. 143. *seq.* Camden's *History of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 329. Stow's *Annals, &c.* p. 739.

" necessity,

presenting it to him, "Thy necessity, " says he, is yet greater than mine:" And then pledging the poor fellow, he was convey'd to *Arnheim*.

<sup>1</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup> of *September* the *English* made themselves masters of the *lope-sconce* of the enemy; but attempting to gain another of the smaller forts, they were repuls'd with loss. On the fourth of *October* the garrison of the great fort demanded a parley; which being granted, Count *Hollack*, because he spoke *Dutch*, stepped out to talk with them; but in the midst of the conference, one of the enemies soldiers discharg'd his musket, as Count *Hollack* was speaking, shot him thro' the mouth, and took off the jewel which hung at his ear. To revenge this treachery, the *English* repeated their attacks upon the lesser fort the day after, and notwithstanding a vigorous defence, they carried their point. <sup>m</sup> The first that moun-

<sup>1</sup> *Stow's Annals*, p. 738. <sup>m</sup> *Strad. de bello Belgic. dec. 2. lib. 8. p. 533. Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c. lib. 3. p. 330. See also Stow's Annals, &c. p. 738. seq. where the story is told with some little variation.*

ted the breach was Captain *Edward Stanley*, who led on Sir *William Stanley's* company to the assault. He was oppos'd by the Captain of the fort, who standing alone in the breach aim'd his pike at his breast, as he was entering. But *Stanley* laying hold of the pike with his left hand, with great presence of mind diverted the stroke, and then taking hold with his right, he strove with all his force either to disarm his adversary, or in case he refus'd to let go his hold, to pluck him from his post. But finding his strength insufficient to effect his purpose, he suddenly changed his design, and suffering himself to be rais'd up by his competitor, he leap'd upon the rampart, and being follow'd by his soldiers, so terrify'd the garrison with his unexpected presence, that deserting the defence, as many as were able made their escape by a back-door, and fled to *Zutphen*. The Earl of *Leicester* knighted *Stanley* for his courage, presented him with forty pounds of *Eng. lish* money, and settled a yearly pension upon him for life. And the night fol-  
2  
lowing



lowing the great fort was abandoned by the enemy, who privately carried off all their ammunition, and retir'd to *Zutphen*.

The Duke of *Parma* being now gone to *Brussels* into winter-quarters, <sup>n</sup> the Earl of *Leicester* judg'd it not convenient, that his army should any longer continue before the walls of *Zutphen*, till the rigour of the ensuing season should be abated; and the rather, as it seem'd sufficiently block'd up by the garrisons, which lay in the towns round about it. In the forts of *Zutphen* towards *Deventer* was *Rowland York* with 800 foot and 100 horse; at *Doesburgh*, within six miles southward, was Sir *John Boroughs* with 800 foot and 200 horse; and to the eastward were garrisons thrown into *Lochem*, *Sherenberg*, and *Dotecum*. Only <sup>o</sup> *Deventer*, which lay six miles northward, had hitherto refus'd to admit of an *English* garrison, and was suspected of favouring the enemy. To

<sup>n</sup> Camden's *hist. of Queen Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 330.

<sup>o</sup> Stow's *Annals*, &c. p. 740.

procure therefore by stratagem what could not openly be attempted by force, Sir *William Stanley* was order'd to give directions to his soldiers to make their entrance in small companies, and lodge themselves in the most private corners of the city; which scheme being put in execution, 1200 *English* soldiers were by this means convey'd into the town. Sir *William Pelham* then gave notice to the Burghomasters, who sat in council, that his Excellency had determin'd to throw a garri-son into their city, and insisted upon their consent to his resolution in less than four and twenty hours. But finding he was likely to meet with some opposition, he assembled all his forces in the market-place, demanded the keys of the gates, and an absolute submission to the persons, who should be set over 'em by his Excellency, under pain of death. In this surprize, they found themselves under a necessity to comply, and disarming the Burghers, who kept guard upon the ramparts, and dismissing the officers, who were suppos'd to be enemies to the *English*,  
they

they gave themselves up into his hands. And thus the Earl of *Leicester*, having secur'd *Deventer*, and thrown the rest of his men into other towns,<sup>p</sup> return'd to the *Hague*, where the estates of the countrey were at that time assembled.

When he came thither<sup>q</sup>, the estates receiv'd him with coldness, and soon broke out in expostulation and complaint: They said, " That the money was ill  
" managed; that he gave earto corrupt  
" and destructive counsels; that the *En-*  
" *glish* companies were not full; that  
" foreign soldiers had been levied with-  
" out consent of the estates; that mili-  
" tary discipline was neglected, waggo-  
" ners and pioneers were taken up by  
" force, the privileges of the provinces  
" disregarded and despis'd, and new  
" kinds of contributions invented;" and in a moderate way desir'd a redress. But he in return enter'd upon a justifi-

<sup>p</sup> Camden's *hist. of England Eliz. &c.* lib. 3.

p. 330.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. & Bentivoglio's *hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. p. 224.

cation of his proceedings, strove to remove their suppos'd misconstructions and mistakes, and at last endeavour'd to dissolve the assembly; but not being able to bring about his purpose, he declar'd his resolution of returning into *England*, and left the council in an angry manner. However, <sup>r</sup> he seems afterwards to have been brought to temper, and to have told the estates, that by his journey into *England*, he should be the more enabled to assist 'em in their affairs, and provide a remedy to all their grievances.

<sup>s</sup> *Grotius* observes, that his Excellency was apparently drawn aside by flatterers and sycophants, and lay too much open to the insinuations of his pretended friends, before he had made any trial of their sincerity; that ill-meaning and factious men were made privy to his most secret designs, and abus'd his confidence to the disservice of their countrey; and that *Ringaltius* in particular, an eminent

<sup>r</sup> See *Grotius de reb. Belgic. &c. lib. 5. & Camden's hist. of Queen Eliz. &c. lib. 3. p. 330.*

<sup>s</sup> *Ibid.*

conspirator, was screen'd by his Lordship from the hands of justice, who afterwards ended an ignominious life among the enemy, in a miserable condition.

That he sought to make alterations in the state, and was engag'd in a design to remove the commonalty from a share in the administration, and place it wholly in himself, seems more than probable: And *Grotius* imputes it to an haughtiness of temper, which cou'd not bear to be controul'd by persons of an inferior rank, who were drawn from behind shops and counters, to make up a part in the great council.

To effect his purpose the more securely, he strove by all possible means to ingratiate himself with the clergy. And these he easily gain'd over to his interest by a dissembled zeal for religion, and a great shew of pretended piety. He frequented all the publick offices of the church, fasted and prayed, often re-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. and Brandt's *history of the Reformation in the Low-countries*, &c. lib. 14.



ceiv'd the holy Eucharist, and warmly express'd his inclination to propagate the reformation, and extirpate popery, upon every occasion. By this management, the ministers were almost unanimous in his favour, and by their influence, he form'd a considerable party among the people.

<sup>u</sup> In the month of *August* past a new draught of church-government had been laid before him by the synod at the *Hague*, and he accordingly ratified and confirm'd it of himself, without waiting for the approbation of the estates: And at the same time he issued out a placart, requiring all stadtholders, magistrates, and others, to acquiesce in it, till they should receive a farther direction from him. This behaviour gave offence to the magistrates, as it seem'd an obtruding upon 'em an ecclesiastical constitution by a military law. And the scheme met with so general an opposition, that it obtain'd only in the diocese of *Utrecht*,

<sup>a</sup> Brandt, *Ibid.*

where

where such ministers, as refus'd subscription, were suspended from the execution of their office; and yet, notwithstanding it was enforc'd by his Lordship's authority, the senate and council of the city protested against it. By this means, however, he introduc'd such confusion into the Provinces, and rais'd such discord and division, as had almost ended in a civil war.

<sup>a</sup> When the day came for his departure, by a publick act he gave up the care of the provinces into the Hands of the council of state; but privately the same day, by an act of restriction, he reserv'd an authority to himself over all governors of provinces, forts and cities; and farther took away from the council of State and the presidents of provinces their accustom'd Jurisdiction. And thus he set sail for *England*.

But whatever might be the pretence for my Lord of *Leicester's* leaving the *Low*.

<sup>w</sup> *Camden's Hist. of Queen Elizabeth, &c. lib. 3. p. 330.*

*Countries* at this conjuncture, \*his presence in *England* seems not to have been at all unacceptable to Queen *Elizabeth*. The late conspiracies, which had been form'd in favour of the Queen of *Scots*, had made a deep impression upon her Majesty, and she appears to have been now resolv'd to dispatch her competitor: But the difficulty lay in what manner it should be done; and she knew she could securely rely upon my Lord of *Leicester's* fidelity, whose attachment to her person, and aversion to the Queen of *Scots*, she had been fully convinc'd of, by a long course of experience. When the matter was brought before the council, †his Lordship is said to have advis'd to take her off by poison; but this scheme being openly oppos'd by Secretary *Walsingham*, who had refus'd to give ear to

\* See the Lord *Buckhurst's* letter to the Earl of *Leicester* in the *Cabala*, &c. part II. page 7.

† So Mr. *Camden*, page 346. who seems here to have been inconsistent with himself. For he tells us, page 348. that these things happen'd before the 11th of *October*, and yet we read in page 330. that the Earl of *Leicester* did not depart for *England* till the third of *December*.

the private insinuations of a Court-Divine, whom my Lord of *Leicester* had sent to draw him into a consent, 'twas at last determin'd to proceed against her by a late act in the 27th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, which had been purposely made upon this occasion. And thus the unfortunate Queen was brought to her tryal, and my Lord of *Leicester* constituted one of her judges.

After sentence of condemnation had been pronounced against her, Queen *Elizabeth* was no less perplex'd, in what manner she should proceed to her execution. She was desirous, as much as possible, to remove the blame from her self; and my Lord of *Leicester* observing it to be her Majesty's inclination, again advis'd her to make her secretly away. And the Queen <sup>2</sup> seems so far to have come into his sentiments, that she order'd her secretaries *Davison* and *Walsingham* to write to *Fotheringay*, where the Queen of

<sup>2</sup> See Secretary *Davison's* apology in the appendix to the life of *Mary Queen of Scots*, &c.

*Scots* was then imprison'd, to have her taken off by violence. But the Keepers, detesting the action, declin'd the office, and her Majesty, within a few days after, fell a publick sacrifice by the hands of an executioner.

In the mean time the affairs of the *Low-Countries* were in a very unprosperous condition. <sup>a</sup> The Duke of *Parma* took all advantages of the enemy's division, had got into his Hands the castle of *Vouve*, a place of importance, not far from *Bergen-op-zoom*, and had found means to bring over to his interest an *Englishman*, nam'd *York*, whom the Earl of *Leicester* had made Governor of a fort near *Zutphen*. This *York* had formerly deserted the *English*, upon account of a supposed injury receiv'd from the Earl of *Leicester*, and had serv'd some time under the *Spaniard*; but being afterwards seemingly reconcil'd to his Lordship, he return'd to his former duty,

<sup>a</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, part II. lib. 4. page 244. Camden's *Hist. of Queen Elizabeth* lib. 3. p. 397.



and was again received into his favour. However, his late Disgrace remaining still fresh in his memory, and having an opportunity of revenge upon the Earl of *Leicester's* absence, and being brib'd, as is suppos'd, with *Spanish* money, he not only betray'd his fort into the hands of the enemy, but drew over *Stanley*, the Governor of *Deventer*, to be an accomplice with him in his treachery. *Stanley*, tho' a rigid Roman-Catholick, had behav'd with fidelity and courage, during the *Irish* war; but upon *Tork's* affirmation, that he was charg'd with treason by the confession of the conspirators in *Babington's* plot, and was shortly to be sent over into *England* for his execution, he consented to deliver up both the town and his regiment to *Baptista de Tassis*, the *Spanish* Governor in *Zutphen*.

<sup>b</sup> The Governors of the provinces are said to have had notice of this treachery,

<sup>b</sup> Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, &c. lib. 14. page 409.

before

before it was put in execution; but as they were labouring to prevent it, the act of restriction, privately sign'd by the Earl of *Leicester* the day before his departure, was produc'd, which tied up their hands, and disabled them from making any opposition.

This instance of fraudulent behaviour in the Lord Lieutenant, join'd to the succeeding losses, gave occasion to loud exclamations and complaints. “ Were  
 “ these, <sup>c</sup> said they, the boasted aids, were  
 “ these the advantages of their alliance  
 “ with *England*? And was this the  
 “ fruit of the Earl of *Leicester*’s Govern-  
 “ ment? At his first coming among them,  
 “ what mighty expectations of miracles  
 “ to be wrought by his hands; but how  
 “ soon was the scene converted into  
 “ shame and dishonour? Had not the  
 “ Duke of *Parma* taken many of their  
 “ towns, whilst he stood looking on?  
 “ And had he not, to his disgrace, in

<sup>c</sup> Bentivoglio’s *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*,  
 part II. lib. 4. p. 244.

“ particular relieved *Zutphen*? And  
 “ now he was gone for *England*, and  
 “ become the enemy of *Flanders*; and  
 “ instead of defending the cause of the  
 “ provinces with Queen *Elizabeth*, was  
 “ rather employ’d to sollicit her against  
 “ it. And again, whilst he was yet in  
 “ the country, did he not act the ty-  
 “ rant more than the Governor, by re-  
 “ moving the native *Flemish* as he plea-  
 “ sed, and advancing the *English* in their  
 “ stead? Since then it was not known,  
 “ when he would return, or with what  
 “ dispositions towards them; why should  
 “ not the provinces resume their au-  
 “ thority, and consult upon such measures  
 “ as should most conduce to the common  
 “ safety?”

† They delay’d no longer, but imme-  
 diately call’d together the States General,  
 who, to preserve their country, agreed  
 to invest Prince *Maurice* with the full

† Brandt’s *Hist. of the Reformation of the Low-  
 Countries*, &c. lib. 14. p. 409. seq. Bentivoglio’s  
*Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. part II. lib. 4.  
 p. 245.

power and authority of Stadtholder, to appoint him the Captain General of *Holland, Zealand and Friesland*, and to give him the command over all the militia within the said provinces. And pursuant to this determination, they oblig'd all the officers to receive a new commission from him, and to take a new oath to the States, and discharg'd all recusants whatsoever from the service.

But these resolutions did not pass without some opposition. *Diedrick de Sonoy*, who commanded the Forces in the north of *Holland*, upon a sense of his Engagements to the Earl of *Leicester*, refused the oath, insisted upon his former commission, and held out the town of *Medenblik* against Prince *Maurice* and the States Deputies. And when they sought to reduce him to a compliance, by persuasion and argument, he return'd them the declaration of certain Ministers, who had given it under their Hand, "That  
" there was no injustice in the refusal,  
" but that he sincerely endeavour'd to  
" promote the honour of God, the advantage

“ vantage of the church, and the well-  
 “ fare of his country by what he did.”

Queen *Elizabeth* appears to have been displeased with these alterations in the Government, and to have resented the diminution of the Earl of *Leicester's* authority, as an injury offered to her self. She immediately sent over the Lord *Buckhurst* to enquire into the matter, to complain of the innovations they had introduced in the Earl of *Leicester's* absence, and to settle all differences between them. And the states in return <sup>e</sup> assured her Majesty, that their late proceedings were but provisional, and enforced thro' fear of a general revolt upon the loss of *Deventer*; and that at his Lordship's return they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority, in as ample a manner, as it had been granted him at the first. And in their letter to her Majesty of *March* the 1st, <sup>f</sup> they

<sup>e</sup> *Lord Buckhurst's Letter to Secretary Walsingham in the Cabala*, part 2. p. 14.

<sup>f</sup> *Cabala*, part 2. p. 5.



tell her, " they are infinitely sorry her  
 " Majesty should put on any sinister  
 " conceit of their actions and proceed-  
 " ings, which they attribute to the  
 " practice of their enemies; for the  
 " removing whereof they do sincerely  
 " affirm unto her Majesty, that they  
 " have, as well since my Lord of *Lei-*  
 " *cester's* entrance into the Government  
 " as before, bent the whole course of  
 " their proceedings to the maintenance  
 " of religion, preservation of their an-  
 " cient privileges and liberties, and fur-  
 " therance of her Majesty's service; the  
 " first being proved, in that it was the  
 " cause that stirred them up to under-  
 " take the war, protesting their reso-  
 " lution to live and dye in the quar-  
 " rel; the second, by their firm union  
 " and mutual good intelligence toge-  
 " ther, without which they could not  
 " so long have stood; and the last, by  
 " their leaving of the full authority of  
 " the government unto my Lord of  
 " *Leicester*, in such sort as by the pro-  
 " vinces was appointed, and answer-  
 " ing

“ ing all manner of contributions, as  
“ well ordinary as extraordinary: And  
“ if her Majesty’s displeasure grow up-  
“ on report of any supposed want in  
“ this last part, they are ready to satisfy  
“ her by sufficient proofs, and appeal  
“ to the Earl’s own knowledge for their  
“ justification; hoping that such peti-  
“ tions and declarations, as they exhi-  
“ bited unto the said Earl, will not be  
“ offensively taken; for that they were  
“ just and reasonable, tending only to  
“ the preservation of their antient pri-  
“ vileges and liberties, which were trod-  
“ den under foot by men of mean con-  
“ dition.

§ Mr. *Camden* reports, the states in a long letter to the Queen accused the Earl of *Leicester* of ill governing the commonwealth in matters of money, war, and trade, and imputed all the damages they had sustained to his restriction and easy credulity. But he

§ *Camden’s Hist. of Qn. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 398. See also *Bentivoglio’s Hist. of the Wars of Flanders, &c.* part 2. lib. 4. p. 245.

seems to have mistaken the forementioned petitions and declarations exhibited to the Earl for a letter of complaint, addressed to the Queen. The states were too well acquainted with the share he bore in her Majesty's affection, to attempt any accusation against him, which they knew must have inevitably turned to their own disadvantage; and accordingly, in a letter from the Lord *Buckhurst* to secretary *Walsingham*,<sup>h</sup> they deny "they ever did any  
 " act, or had meaning to touch the  
 " honour either of the Earl of *Leicester*,  
 " or of the English nation, or to prejudice  
 " the authority of his Lordship, whose  
 " speedy return they so earnestly desired."

But notwithstanding these outward professions of regard,<sup>i</sup> they inwardly hated him, and privately proceeded in the execution of their former projects, with a view to straiten his authority.

<sup>h</sup> Cabala, part 2. p. 14.

<sup>i</sup> Mr. Wilks's *Letters to the Earl of Leicester and secretary Walsingham*, in the Cabala, part 2. p. 9. 32. seq.

Prince *Maurice* and Count *Hollack* were dispatched to the frontiers of *Holland*, and into the chief towns of *Zealand*, to secure them to themselves. In *Friesland*, the governour of the province, with the assistance of the states, offered the new oaths to the officers and garrisons, and discharged the captains and companies, who refused to take them. And even in their late letters to the Queen they would have inserted a clause to signify their meaning to limit his command upon his return to them, if my Lord *Buckhurst* had not interposed, and laid before them the mischief it would have produced from his Lordship's power with her Majesty.

These proceedings however were by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who were firm in the interest of the Earl of *Leicester*, and threatened to be revenged of the states, if the Queen should take any offence at their alterations. \* In *Friesland* the cler-

\* Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, lib. 14.

gy offered her Majesty the sovereignty of the Low-Countries without any restriction. They held two synods upon this project, and sent over one of their body into *England*, at the expence of the church, upon the occasion. The synod at *Sneek* presented a petition to the Lord *Buckhurst* to be transmitted to her, in which they invite her to come to the assistance of Christ, who threw himself and his children into her arms, and implored her protection. <sup>1</sup> The towns of *Horn*, *Anchuyssen* and *Medemblike* had protested they would depend only upon her Majesty. *Gorcum* had twice refused Count *Philip* of *Nassau* for their governour; and the preachers at *Amsterdam* had openly inveighed against the magistrates from the pulpit, and the people set up libels against the states. But as these disorders were at the point of being carried to the utmost extremity, and the people were just in

<sup>1</sup> *Mr. Wilks's Letter to the Earl of Leicester in the Cabala*, part. 2. pag. 9.



a readiness to take up arms; my Lord *Buckhurst* signified to them from her Majesty, that it was her inclination to send back the Earl of *Leicester* into the Low-Countries to compose their differences, by reassuming the government. And this expectation of his Lordship's presence gave a check to their violence, and put a farther stop to the proceedings of the states, who had begun to introduce a new face of affairs in the country. <sup>m</sup> Prince *Maurice* now professed all good-will and amity to his Lordship. Count *Hollack* promised to receive him with all honour and friendship. And the states General and Council of state, both publickly and privately, assured my Lord *Buckhurst* of all duty and fidelity to him.

But before the Queen could be prevailed on to give consent to his Lordship's return, <sup>n</sup> she required my Lord

<sup>m</sup> *Lord Buckhurst's Letter to Secretary Walsingham, in the Cabala, part 2. pag. 12.*

<sup>n</sup> *The Copy of a Letter from her Majesty to the Lord Buckhurst, in the Cabala, part 2. pag. 28.*

*Buckhurst* to let the states understand, she expected they should be able to put an army into the field upon his arrival of ten or twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and farther should not only promise, but give good assurance, that a sum of 100000 *l.* arising from the extraordinary contribution, should be delivered in such seasonable times, as might serve to defray the charges of the said army, into the hands of some person of the country, who should be nominated by the Earl of *Leicester* to supply the place of treasurer to the army, to be issued out by his Lordship's direction, with the privacy of the council of estate. But this demand not being agreeable to the states, ° they resolutely made answer; " That as by his Lordship, before his " departure out of their country, there " was a treasurer chosen and established, " as also a receiver General of the contributions of the said provinces; men

° *The Lord Buckhurst's Letter to the Queen, in the Cabala, part 2. p. 18.*

known

“ known to his Lordship to be suffi-  
“ ciently qualified, and that their pre-  
“ sent affairs required great expedition,  
“ and might not suffer any longer de-  
“ lay ; that therefore the said treasurer  
“ and receiver General might have the  
“ administration of the monies of the  
“ said extraordinary contributions, by  
“ the appointment of his Lordship and  
“ council of estate, at the least by pro-  
“ vision, and until his Lordship should  
“ return to them : And in case his Lord-  
“ ship at his said return should find it  
“ necessary, that besides the said trea-  
“ surer and receiver, there should be  
“ appointed also a treasurer at war for  
“ the managing of the charges of the  
“ camp, that then his Lordship for time  
“ only, and without drawing the same  
“ for a precedent hereafter, might ap-  
“ point a treasurer for the administering  
“ of the monies, which should then be  
“ received of the said extraordinary con-  
“ tribution designed for the camp, pro-  
“ vided that he was a person of quali-  
“ ty, born in *Holland, Zealand, Utrecht,*  
or

“ or *Friesland*, and agreeable to the  
“ states General; and that the same trea-  
“ surer should issue the monies by war-  
“ rant of his Lordship and those of the  
“ council.’ But as this answer came  
not up to her Majesty’s demand, inso-  
much as it restrained the choice of his  
Lordship to four provinces, exclusive of  
*Flanders*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyssel*;  
as the persons to be chosen were to be  
acceptable to the states, whereas it  
was her Majesty’s will, they should be  
nominated by the Earl of *Leicester* on-  
ly; and as the money was to be joynt-  
ly issued out by the warrant of his  
Lordship and the council of state, and  
it was the Queen’s desire, that it should  
be issued by his sole direction, with the  
privity only of the council of state,  
my Lord *Buckhurst* finally declared, that  
he had no commission from her Majesty  
to promise his Lordship’s return to them.

These demands increased the indigna-  
tion of the great men against the Earl  
of *Leicester*. They now saw plainly,  
he sought not so much the advantage of  
their

their country, as to gratifie his own ambition. 'Twas their part therefore to provide for their own security, and guard against any future encroachments he might hereafter attempt upon their constitution. <sup>p</sup> To this end they established new superintendents to command the garrisons on the frontiers of *Holland*, and in the chief towns of *Zealand*. *Worden*, *Odewater*, *Worcum* and *Gorcum* were committed to the care of Count *Philip* of *Nassau*. *Bommel*, *Huesden*, *Gertrudenburgh*, *Wilmstat*, *Clundert* and *Suenberghen* remain'd in the hands of Count *Hollack*. And Prince *Maurice* was dispatched into *Zealand* to fix Count *Somes* in the superintendency over all the towns of that province; designing that whoever should be appointed to command the regiment in *Zealand*, should have no authority over any garrison within the province, as that power did more properly belong to the super-

<sup>p</sup> *Mr. Wilks's Letter to Secretary Walsingham, in the Cabala, part 2. p. 32, 33.*

intend-



intendents of the towns, by a special act assented to by the Earl of *Leicester* himself. And tho' my Lord *Buckhurst* zealously opposed himself to the admission of these superintendents, as being contrary to the 24th article of their contract, by which the nomination of them was to appertain to her Majesty's Lieutenant, yet his opposition met with no effect. They farther encreased their strength by sea, and fitted out a much greater number of ships than they had ever had, since her Majesty had undertaken their protection. And their design seems evidently to have been, to place their chief dependence upon the provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*; and in case my Lord of *Leicester* should return, to confine his former absolute authority to the provinces of *Utrecht*, *Overyssel*, and *Gueidres*, which since the loss of *Deventer* had been so wasted and spoiled by the incursions of the enemy, as to be able to contribute little to the common defence.

In

In the mean time the preparations of the enemy were daily augmenting, and their forces almost in a readiness to take the field; <sup>a</sup> whilst the wants and necessities of the states General obliged them to leave their towns but slenderly provided. They had suffered great losses by the spoil of their magazines, and were unwilling to furnish them afresh, 'till they saw an apparent necessity for doing it. <sup>r</sup> Their perils in short encreased so continually upon them, that there seemed no other possible remedy to prevent their entire ruin and subversion, but a present Governour, attended with a present supply of men and money. The Lord *Buckhurst* was not wanting to notifie their distresses to Queen *Elizabeth*, but my Lord of *Leicester's* demands were so great from her Majesty, that she continued doubtful for some time, whether she should again

<sup>a</sup> *Lord Buckhurst's Letter to the Queen, in the Cabala, part 2. p. 18.*

<sup>r</sup> *Lord Buckhurst's Letter to Secretary Walsingham, in the Cabala, part 2. p. 22.*

employ him in the service of the Low-Countries. <sup>f</sup> This engaged my Lord *Buckhurst*, out of a sense of the difficulties the states laboured under, and the uncertainty of his Lordship's return, to draw up a new scheme for the government of the United Provinces, which very highly offended the Earl of *Leicester*; and <sup>t</sup> seems to have been one principal motive of the aversion and hatred he ever after expressed towards him.

But notwithstanding all the care and solicitations of my Lord *Buckhurst*, he could gain no other answer from *England*, but smooth words and fair promises, whilst nothing in reality was performed. <sup>u</sup> At the same time the states were incessantly complaining of the weakness of her Majesty's forces, and the deficiencies in the numbers agreed for both of horse and foot; and on the other hand so miserably neglected the *English* troops

<sup>s</sup> See the *Appendix*, Num. 9.

<sup>t</sup> See the *Cabala*, part 2. p. 61. *seq.*

<sup>u</sup> Lord *Buckhurst's* *Letters to Secretary Walsingham*, in the *Cabala*, part 2. p. 25. 31.

in their pay, that they daily cryed out, they were ready to perish for lack of sustenance. By repeated letters from *Ostend*, Lord *Buckhurst* had information, that the enemy intended to besiege it; and there was no question to be made, but they designed an expedition either against *Ostend*, or *Sluyse*, or *Bruges*. Upon this occasion, his Lordship did not fail to call upon the states to supply these towns with due provision of victuals and ammunition. But they answered with delays, and alledged, that in effect all the soldiers at *Ostend* and *Bruges* were *English*, and therefore not subject to their care; and farther, that the little money they had was to be employed upon more necessary occasions. So that 'till they saw, what assistances they might depend upon from her Majesty, they seem to have been resolved to keep each man his private fortune in his own hands, and to venture as little as might be for the security of the publick. And indeed if the enemy's want of victuals had not restrained

restrained them from entering upon any important design, the country must in all probability have fallen a prey to the victorious arms of the Duke of *Parma*.

Under these circumstances my Lord *Buckhurst* again made application to the Court of *England*, laid open the miseries to which the provinces were reduced, and with pressing instances recommended the consideration of their necessity to her Majesty. In his \* letter to the Lords of the council he has thus expressed himself upon the occasion.

“ I have so often and so earnestly  
 “ written for money to relieve the poor  
 “ soldiers here, and so plainly signified  
 “ the great poverty and penury that  
 “ they endure, with the fearful danger  
 “ that seemeth to approach us all, by  
 “ means of this woful want of pay,  
 “ as if the same doth not really move,  
 “ neither can I think, that writing will  
 “ move: yea, so long have I upheld

\* Cabala, part 2. p. 36.



“ these provinces with the painted pil-  
“ lars of hope and expectation, (whom I  
“ found in a manner desperate, and as it  
“ were believing certainly that her Majesty  
“ would abandon them) as if neither  
“ mean be established how to govern  
“ their Estate, nor men transported to  
“ defend the enemy, nor money sent  
“ wherewith to pay the soldiers; al-  
“ tho’ the wonderful work of God, by  
“ that general famine, which at this  
“ present overspreadeth the whole coun-  
“ tries of our adversaries, doth as yet  
“ preserve us from the force and fury  
“ of our mighty enemy; yet have we  
“ certain intelligence, that the fruits  
“ of their harvest coming, which will  
“ be ripe and ready before the midst  
“ of *July*, give such abundant hope  
“ unto them, to minister all means of  
“ plenty for their army, as, except it  
“ please Almighty God, of his merci-  
“ ful goodness towards us, even sud-  
“ denly to rise up, and by some mi-  
“ racle to defend us, it is without the  
“ compass of man’s reason to believe

R

“ how

“ how it is possible for this Estate in  
 “ any sort to sustain the force and fury  
 “ of so resolute and so potent an ene-  
 “ my; for when the hope in her Ma-  
 “ jesty to relieve the wants here doth  
 “ once begin to sink, which (be your  
 “ Lordships most assured) hath been the  
 “ only prop and foundation, whereon  
 “ this state hath stood so long; if that  
 “ hope, I say, shall once fail or fall,  
 “ surely, if God stretch not forth his  
 “ hand from heaven to defend them,  
 “ it is no ways possible for their own  
 “ power, and these contracted forces  
 “ of her Majesty, any long time to pre-  
 “ serve them.”

y But before my Lord *Buckhurst* had  
 dispatched this letter, the Queen's trea-  
 surer arrived with money, to the great  
 joy and satisfaction of his Lordship,  
 and the comfort of the distressed sol-  
 diers. Nothing now seemed wanting  
 but the Earl of *Leicester's* presence,  
 which was the more necessary, as the

y Cabala, part II. p. 36, &c.

States were afraid to act any thing of themselves, lest it should be interpreted to the prejudice of his Lordship's authority; and doing nothing must unavoidably end in their utter destruction. The Queen at last became sensible of the inconveniencies attending upon any farther delay, and after some fruitless endeavours towards a peace, gave consent to his Lordship's return, and ordered him to make ready for his journey. <sup>2</sup> Before his departure several letters passed between him and the ministers of *South Holland*, and one of them was written in the manner following,

*Gentlemen,*

" That I did not return such an answer to several of your letters as you desired and expected, was not for want of a good-will towards serving the cause of God, and defending the poor people; but it was because I had not yet received her Ma-

<sup>2</sup> Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, &c. lib. 14. page 413.

“ jesty’s resolutions about what was far-  
“ ther necessary to be done for the ser-  
“ vice of your countrey. But the Queen  
“ having given me full directions with  
“ regard to the forces she will send to  
“ your assistance, and having laid her  
“ commands upon me to return; I there-  
“ fore postponing all private views and  
“ considerations, and abandoning all  
“ those advantages, which God has be-  
“ stowed on me in this kingdom, in-  
“ tend to hasten over, and satisfy the  
“ desires of a people, who have so of-  
“ ten called for me; to which the zeal  
“ and good inclinations of some have  
“ more induced me, than the demerits  
“ of others, that suffer themselves to  
“ be made tools for keeping me back  
“ by slanders and detractions; which  
“ I shall nevertheless enter into my  
“ book of oblivion, that no harm may  
“ befall those, who seek to do me such  
“ disservices; and I hope I shall never  
“ give the people any cause to diminish  
“ their good-will and affection for me.  
“ In the mean time I entreat you to go  
“ on

“ on in your duty, and to admonish  
 “ and excite those under your care to  
 “ peace and unity, to the end that they  
 “ may more and more deserve all the  
 “ benefits they receive. For the rest I  
 “ refer myself to my arrival, and so  
 “ I recommend you, Gentlemen, to the  
 “ protection of the Almighty.

*Your Good Friend,*

Given at London,

<sup>a</sup> Jan. 7. O. S.

R. Leicester.

<sup>b</sup>The severity of the winter being  
 now over, and the wants of the Duke  
 of *Parma* in great measure supplied, he  
 determined to begin the Campaign  
 with the siege of *Sluys*, which was the  
 most considerable town in the province  
 of *Flanders*, except *Ostend*, that remain'd  
 in possession of the States. And tho'  
 his army was much decreased by his losses  
 in the last year's expeditions, he thought

<sup>a</sup> *There is evidently a mistake in the date. For January read June.*

<sup>b</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. part II. lib. 4. p. 245. *Strada de bello Belgico*, dec. 2. lib. 8.



he might safely sit down before *Sluys* with the less number of soldiers, as the town was situate in a marsh and could be approached only in particular places. In this resolution his first attempt was to gain an advantage by stratagem, and to delude the enemy by pretending to engage in another enterprize. He dispatched Signior *d'Altapenna* and the Marquis *Vasto* into the confines of *Brabant* with a considerable body of horse and foot, as tho' he had a design upon those quarters, and so far succeeded in his scheme, that Prince *Maurice* and Count *Hollack* presently took the alarm, and marched suddenly thither with their forces to oppose them; whilst his Highness, in the mean while, having thus made a diversion, turned directly upon *Sluys*, and encamped before it. *Sluys* does not lye altogether upon the sea-side, as does *Ostend*, but somewhat more within land; yet the right side of it is washed by a channel, into which the sea enters, that is large enough to receive any vessel whatsoever, and in  
this

this channel, over against *Sluys*, lyes an island of about two leagues in circumference named *Cassante*, by means of which the town might easily be relieved by sea from *Flushing*: And on the opposite side between *Sluys* and *Ostend* lay the fort of *Blanchenberg*, which was no less commodious for the conveying succours to the besieged by land. This fort was immediately upon his encampment attacked by the Duke of *Parma*, and it gave the less resistance, as his coming thither being unexpected, there was no provision made to oppose him. His next step was to raise a fort in the island *Cassante*, and if possible cut off all relief by sea. <sup>c</sup> But before he could put his purpose in execution, Sir *Roger Williams*, and a company with him, and four companies from *Bruges*, entered the town, and supplied it with a sufficient quantity of provisions and ammunition to hold out a considerable time against him.

<sup>c</sup> Cabala, part II. p. 42.

In the mean while the States were under great difficulties upon the part they were to act in this conjuncture. <sup>d</sup> Prince *Maurice*, being created their new Governour for the war provisional, as they termed it, had very earnestly solicited Sir *John Norris* to be marshal of the field, but he absolutely declined it. For it was held to derogate from the Earl of *Leicester's* authority to joyn the *English* forces with theirs in this service, as this, 'twas said, would be to wrest the honour of the army out of his Lordship's hands, and to give the command to other officers, than his Lordship had appointed. And yet, so long as the Prince delay'd to give his assistance, the town was in danger of being lost; and should he proceed without the *English* troops, it was to be fear'd he might prove too weak to engage with the enemy, and so be defeated.

These difficulties prov'd very service-

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

able to the Duke of *Parma*,<sup>e</sup> who omitted no possible opportunity of carrying on the siege with vigour and resolution. The town was bravely defended by M. *Grunevelt*, an experienc'd officer,<sup>f</sup> who had under him 1600 Soldiers, and about 300 of the townsmen, who were well exercis'd in arms. And no sooner did the *Spaniards* begin their approaches, than the defendants issued out in accustomed sallies to make head against them. The fort towards *Bruges* was well fortified; but to keep the enemy at a greater distance from the Fossé, the besieged had rais'd another fort of a considerable strength without the gate. This fort was frequently attack'd by the Duke of *Parma*, and as vigorously defended by *Grunevelt*; but the besieg'd at last were forc'd to retire, and leave the enemy possess'd of a more commodious post to draw nearer the town. The care of

<sup>e</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, part II. lib. 4. p. 246. Strada de bello Belgico, dec. 2. lib. 8. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Cabala, part II. p. 44.

the trenches was committed to the Marquis *de Renty*, a person of merit and distinction, who behav'd with great fidelity and diligence; but being too forward in his employment, he receiv'd a wound, as he was surveying the works, which oblig'd him to withdraw. He was succeeded by M. *de la Motte*, a gentleman of like faithfulness and courage, who suffered under the same misfortune with his predecessor, and lost his arm in the service. The camp-master, *John d'Aquila*, and many of the soldiers were severely wounded, and numbers of them slain. The Duke's army was no less unfortunate in another quarter. Before they could come to their trenches, 'twas necessary they should pass a bridge, which lay so exposed to the town-wall, that the besieg'd might easily fire upon them, without any danger to themselves; and tho' the *Spaniards* had cover'd it over with cloth, to take off from the certainty of their aim, they nevertheless sustain'd a considerable damage, 'till they had so far advanc'd,

as



as to deprive the besieged of this advantage.

§ In this posture was the state of affairs when my Lord of *Leicester*, having received his dispatch from Queen *Elizabeth*, set sail from *England*. He arriv'd in *Zealand* about the middle of *June*, and brought with him a considerable supply both of horse and foot. Prince *Maurice* and the Deputies of the States attended upon him at *Flushing*, to congratulate his return, and left Count *Hollack* to watch the motions of *Altapenna*, and *Vasto*. When they had talk'd upon the subject of raising the siege, 'twas determin'd to attempt it by sea. To this end they fitted out as many ships as were judg'd expedient, and sent on board about 5000 foot and 600 horse, with all necessary provision, for the relief of the Town. Within a few hours after the Fleet appear'd in the channel, and the Earl of *Leicester*

§ Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, part II lib. 4. p. 246.

made signs to the besieg'd, that he was come to their assistance: But upon stricter enquiry, finding the channel block'd up, and the passage secur'd, he saw 'twould be in vain to endeavour to proceed any farther. For three days he continued in suspense what step he should take; and at last weighing anchor, he bent his course towards *Ostend*, with a resolution to succour the besieg'd by land. But the Duke of *Parma* apprehending his design, immediately sent a reinforcement of horse and foot to the fort of *Blanchenberg*, to oppose his progress. As soon as the Earl of *Leicester* had landed his men, he prepar'd to attack this Fort, and joining the whole garrison of *Ostend* to his army, marched up directly against it. The loss of *Blanchenberg* was of no less consequence to the Duke of *Parma*, than the gaining of it would have been advantageous to the Earl of *Leicester*; and therefore leaving the siege every where well provided, he led the remainder of his Army to the defence of the fort against his Lordship. The  
*English*

*English* troops were upon the point to begin their batteries, when the Duke of *Parma* came up; but upon sight of the army, they deferr'd their hostilities, and after some consultation retir'd to *Ostend*. From hence they return'd with the same fleet to the place where they had formerly been at anchor, not far from *Sluys*; and the Duke of *Parma*, marching suddenly back, again presented himself to their view, and took from them all possible hope of relieving the town. And thus they found themselves under a necessity to retire again, and never after attempted to be seen there any more.

<sup>h</sup> Tho' this retreat was a great discouragement to the besieged, yet they still went on to make a vigorous opposition. The *Spaniards* had not hitherto begun their batteries, the condition of the ground, and the resistance of the enemy, having prolong'd the labour

<sup>h</sup> Bentivoglio's *hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. part II. lib. 4. p. 247.

of the trenches much more than might have been expected. But as soon as their works were finish'd, they prepar'd for the attack. They had rais'd but one battery, by reason of the difficulty of access to the town, but it was the largest that had ever yet been seen in *Flanders*; the Duke having planted upon it full forty pieces of great cannon. For eight hours together they fir'd upon the town, in which time 'twas computed they discharg'd their cannon above 4000 times, and made a breach in the wall, not far from the gate, above twenty yards long. Upon making the breach they discovered that the defendants had rais'd a large half-moon behind the wall, and fortified themselves so strongly there, that there was no possibility of entring by assault, without sustaining a considerable damage; so that the Duke of *Parma* judg'd it more convenient to proceed by the slow degrees of filling up of ditches with mathooks and mines, than to hazard the lives of so many of his soldiers. And tho' the besieg'd were  
not

not wanting to make all possible resistance, yet they were at last oblig'd to submit; and thus the town was surrender'd upon the most honourable conditions, that could be demanded. The garrison were reduc'd to little more than 600 men, and more of the *Spaniards* are said to have fallen in this expedition than were lost in the three preceding sieges of *Grave*, *Venlo* and *Nuys*. <sup>i</sup> *Strada* reports, that when the siege was over, *Grunevelt* desir'd a testimonial of his behaviour from the Duke of *Parma*, for the satisfaction of Queen *Elizabeth*, which his Highness readily granted in the most obliging manner imaginable, with large commendations of *Grunevelt* for his capacity and courage.

<sup>k</sup> Whilst these things were transacting before *Sluys*, Count *Hollack*, having got together a considerable Force, had sought to raise the siege by making a diversion

<sup>i</sup> De bello Belgico, dec. 2. lib. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Bentivoglio's *hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. part II. lib. 4. p. 247. *Strada de bello Belgico*, dec. 2. lib. 8.

before



before *Balduke*. *Altapenna* and *Vasto* were now pass'd from *Brabant* into *Guelderland*, and found themselves under a necessity, rather to have an eye upon the proceedings of Count *Hollack* than to attempt any farther progress themselves: However, they had got into their hands the Town of *Geldres*, thro' the treachery of Col. *Paton*, the Governor. This *Paton* was a *Scotsman*, who fearing to be depriv'd of his government by the Earl of *Leicester*, had thought to prevent his disgrace by giving up the town to *Altapenna*: But in return for this advantage, the *Spaniards* soon after underwent two considerable losses. The one was the Death of *Altapenna*, who receiv'd a wound as he was attempting to relieve the fort of *Engelen*, besieg'd by Count *Hollack*, of which he died the next day. And the other was the loss of the fort itself. Count *Hollack* chang'd its name from *Engelen* to *Creve-coeur*, in allusion to the vexation, which his gaining a post of such import would create to the *Spaniards*.

*niards*. This fort guarded a pass over the *Maese*, and was very serviceable for the defence of *Balduke*; and *Altapenna* was remarkably distinguish'd by his courage and conduct, his faithfulness and ability.

The Duke of *Parma*, upon the victory gain'd at *Sluys*, had determin'd to have sat down before *Ostend*; but the town was so well fortify'd, and so capable of being reliev'd, from the advantage of its situation, that he judg'd it proper to lay aside the enterprize till a more convenient opportunity. And farther, the King of *Spain's* resolutions against *England* call'd him off to engage in a different design.

<sup>1</sup>The loss of *Sluys* in the mean time renew'd the misunderstanding between the Earl of *Leicester* and the States, whilst the blame of the action was thrown by each party upon the mismanagement of the other. The Earl of *Leicester* in particular complain'd of the States negli-

<sup>1</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. Part II. lib. 4. p. 248.

gence in not having made sufficient preparations for the war, and restrain'd the first attempts of the *Spaniards* against the town. And the States, in return, as virulently inveigh'd against his Lordship, and imputed the whole misfortune to his ill conduct, and the delay of the *English* forces. And this dissatisfaction encreasing, they refus'd to re-establish him in that absolute authority, which had been conferr'd upon him at his first arrival.

This diminution of his power was so highly resent'd by the Earl of *Leicester*, that he openly express'd his displeasure against the States, and is charg'd with having enter'd into indirect practices to regain it. <sup>m</sup> The magistrates of *Leyden* had private information, that a scheme was form'd to surprize the town, and change the governours. And certain companies of *English* soldiers had march'd to *Maesland*, and *Delfshaven*, with directions to seize upon the person of *Oldenbarnevelt*, advocate and counsellor to the States of

<sup>m</sup> Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, &c. lib. 14. p. 414, &c.

*Holland*, whom his Lordship had destin'd to destruction, with thirteen others of the principal asserters of the liberties of their country, by the hands of an executioner. And Prince *Maurice*, upon the discovery, left the *Hague* the next day, to avoid the ruin which seem'd to threaten him.

\* The retreat of Prince *Maurice* struck terror into the minds of the chief men, who wish'd well to their country, as not being able to foresee the consequence. But the common people were so over-  
sway'd with the appearances of piety and zeal in the Earl of *Leicester*, as to approve of all he did, and loudly exclaim'd against the proceedings of the States. Within a few days his Lordship went to *Utrecht*, where he was very diligent to form an interest among the townsmen in his favour; and from thence he made a progress thro' the country, conversing chiefly with the ministers and private persons, and sowing the seeds of discord and division wherever he came.

\* Ibid. p. 415.

° He is said to have engaged in a design against *Amsterdam*, but the magistrates got notice of his project; and prevented its execution. Upon this disappointment he directed his course towards *North-Holland*, and cast his eye upon *Enkhuysen*. And here he thought he was secure of his purpose, by reason the clergy had a great influence over the town. But *Fosterman* the minister took part with the magistrates, and recommended the duty of subjection in such pressing terms from the pulpit, that the people were all unanimous in supporting their authority. With this encouragement they send a letter to his Lordship, as he was upon his journey, desiring he would decline to visit 'em upon this occasion, for the townsmen, they said, were alarm'd with a report, that *Sonoy*, laying hold of the advantage of his Excellency's name and presence, had design'd to take possession of the town, to the injury of their Stadtholder Prince *Maurice*, and the States of the Province. He answer'd their letter,

° Ibid. p. 415, 416.



and took no notice of his coming, but notwithstanding went on ship board at *Hoorn*, and march'd directly towards 'em. Hereupon they assembled all the officers of the militia, and after some consultations about the common safety, agreed to place a guard at their gates; and when his Lordship was advanc'd as far as *Grotebrook*, within a league of the city, they dispatch'd certain members of their senate to him, to dissuade his proceeding any farther. The deputies deliver'd their message with submission and respect; but his Lordship being apprehensive that the gates would be shut upon him, pass'd the night at *Streek*, and the next morning turn'd aside to *Medenblike*. About this time a certain *Fleming*, who had been plac'd as a spy upon his Lordship, and had frequently disclos'd his counsels, and given seasonable notice of his designs, appears to have been discover'd, and was never after heard of any more.

¶ In the mean time, the ministers were every where very industrious to promote

¶ Ibid. p. 416.

the honour and interests of his Lordship. In the beginning of *October*, certain of 'em drew up a Memorial in the name of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Churches, which they presented to the States, wherein they tell 'em, " that since it was not only law-  
" ful, but expedient for every good in-  
" habitant and christian, and much more  
" so for the ministers of the Holy Word,  
" whom God hath graciously appointed  
" his messengers and rulers over his House,  
" to represent to the Government what  
" they conceiv'd was for their country's  
" good; they therefore besought the  
" States, (who were now assembled in  
" order to consider of returning an an-  
" swer, and of giving satisfaction to his  
" Excellency the Earl of *Leicester*,) that  
" they would have no other views but  
" those of maintaining the honour of  
" God, and preservation of the Church  
" and Nation: They did not question  
" but their Lordships had these things  
" at heart; but since it happen'd some-  
" times that such methods were put in  
" practice, as did not always tend so di-  
" rectly

“ rectly towards the common good, be-  
“ cause particular and by-ends might di-  
“ vert the mind’s eye from seeing the  
“ right path ; they implor’d Almighty  
“ God to give the States the grace, that  
“ extricating themselves from all such  
“ obstacles, they might hasten to such  
“ good resolutions, as should prevent  
“ farther mischief, and reconcile the  
“ affections of her Majesty and his Ex-  
“ cellency to these Provinces.”

At first, the States heard ’em with pa-  
tience, and civilly told ’em, “ they would  
“ consider of their Memorial.” But  
within a few days after, *Oldenbarnevelt*,  
the States advocate, let ’em know, “ there  
“ was nothing in their paper, but what  
“ the States knew already, and a great  
“ deal more ; that the States had the  
“ good of their country as much at heart  
“ as they, and could take care of it  
“ without ’em ; they would do well  
“ therefore to return home, and leave  
“ their Lordships to proceed in their  
“ own way.” Nor did the matter rest  
here ; for as the application of the mi-

nisters had been publick, the States judg'd proper to draw up a<sup>a</sup> publick answer, which they caus'd to be printed and distributed to the magistrates in every town of *Holland* and *West-friesland*, with directions to summon the Clergy before 'em, to put a copy of it into their hands, and to bid 'em " exhort their " congregations to unity and peace; to " give heed to teaching and preaching; " and to leave matters of government " and policy to the States and Magi- " strates." But this reproof seems to have been ill receiv'd by the ministers, who declar'd they had done nothing but their duty, and did not expect so unkind a return.

<sup>r</sup> About this time *Provink*, a creature of the Earl of *Leicester's*, attempted to stir up the people of *Dort* to an insurrection in his Lordship's favour. To this end he had drawn up a petition, to have been sign'd and presented by them to his

<sup>a</sup> See the Appendix, Numb. X.

<sup>r</sup> Brandt's *Hist. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries*, &c. lib. 14. p. 418.

Lordship,

Lordship, in which, after several invectives against the States, “ they promis’d  
 “ to stand by him with their lives and  
 “ fortunes, and to use their utmost  
 “ power to the establishing his authority  
 “ every where.” This paper being shewn to the minister, he dissuaded the execution of the enterprize, and so the project was drop’d for that time. It afterwards fell into the hands of the magistrates, who, tho’ most of ’em inclin’d to favour the *English* interest, thought proper to lay it before the assembly of the States, then sitting at *Harlem*.

† But the spirit of discord and rebellion was no where more prevalent, than it was at *Leyden*. Many thousands of *Flemish* and *Brabanders*, who had taken shelter here during the late persecutions, had contracted an aversion to the States, upon an imagination that the cause of the Church and the Earl of *Leicester* were so closely united, that every diminution of his Lordship’s authority was a

† Ibid. p. 418. See also Strada de bello Belgico, dec. 2. lib. 9.



disservice to Religion. And this gave occasion to a very dangerous conspiracy, which might have been attended with most dreadful consequences, if it had not been prevented by a timely discovery. Amongst the heads of the conspirators were *Adolph van Meetkirke*, formerly President of *Flanders*; *Christian vander Wouwere*, a Minister; *Volmaer*, an Elder of the Church; and Dr. *Adrian Saravia*, Professor of Divinity: And these, the more effectually to encourage the Party, had <sup>†</sup>drawn up a schedule of their grievances, in which they had expos'd at large the principal objections they had agreed to make against the conduct of their Governors.

Whilst matters were in this situation, the Earl of *Leicester* sends for *Cosmo de Pescarengiis*, a native of *Piedmont*, who had been formerly a pawn-broker at *Leyden*, but was now a disbanded Colonel, and ready to engage in any desperate undertaking. He laid before him the inclinations of the people of *Leyden* to

<sup>†</sup> See the Appendix, Num. XI.

reduce the city to his obedience, shew'd him how easy it was to accomplish their purpose, that nothing more was wanting than an officer of resolution to head 'em, and press'd *Cosmo* to assist in the service. *Cosmo*, with little persuasion, was induc'd to comply, but he wanted his Lordship to give him instructions in writing. But my Lord made answer, " he would support his own work, that " he would never forsake him, but fly " to his assistance, in case of difficulty, " tho' at the expence of all his fortune.

When *Cosmo* was come to *Leyden*, he made his application to *Nicolas de Maulde*, a young officer of reputation, who belong'd to the garrison, and gain'd him over to the *English* interest. The same day the chief of the faction met at *Cosmo's* lodgings, to debate upon the execution of their project, and what was the most efficacious method of seizing upon the magistrates. And here it was agreed to make use of *De Maulde's* company, and the soldiers of one *Heraugiere*, which were to be brought from *Delft*  
upon

upon this occasion. Some few days after, *Cosmo*, upon suspicion of some other crime, was taken up and imprison'd. This accident struck a terror into the rest of the conspirators, who judg'd they were all discover'd; but soon learning their mistake, they sent *Volmaer* to the Earl of *Leicester*, to consult with him what was farther to be done. His Lordship requir'd 'em to go on, and express'd his dissatisfaction at their delays. Upon the return of their messenger they met once more at *Meetkirke's* house, and determin'd to execute their design on the *Sunday* following. *Maulde*, by my Lord of *Leicester's* orders, was to ask leave of the magistrates to draw his company out of the town the evening before; and under this pretext was, early the next morning, to march his soldiers along the *Broadstreet*, as far as the *Stadthouse*, where he was to be stop'd by fifty or sixty of the arm'd citizens, who should declare, that they had taken up arms for the service of the Church, and his Excellency the Earl of *Leicester*. They  
were

were then to seize upon the Stadthouse, and to publish a declaration in all quarters of the town, to this effect: " That  
" the good Burghers had been oblig'd to  
" take up arms for the service of the  
" Queen of *England*, for the maintenance of the true Religion, and for  
" re-establishing the Earl of *Leicester*,  
" Governour-General of the united *Netherlands*, in that power and authority which was conferr'd on him by  
" the States-General at his first coming  
" into the country. That every one  
" therefore was hereby strictly requir'd  
" to behave peaceably, and do harm to  
" no man, in body or goods, upon pain  
" of death." And their watch-word was to have been, " Long live the Queen  
" of *England*, and the Earl of *Leicester*."  
" *ter.*"

However, the day came, and nothing was effected. They were afraid, it seems, lest the citizens, whom they had drawn into the conspiracy, should be backward in the insurrection, and thus the mischief, which they had design'd for others, should

should revert upon themselves. In the mean time one of the conspirators, nam'd *Andrew Schott*, disclos'd the whole affair to the magistrates; whereupon *Volmaer* was taken up, *Cosmo* more strictly confin'd, and Captain *Maulde* apprehended at *Woerden*, and carried back to *Leyden*. *Volmaer* confess'd all he was accus'd of, but threw the blame upon the Earl of *Leicester*. He was desir'd to produce his commission; but he said he had relied upon his Lordship's honour, and acted only by a verbal order. And when he was told, that the Earl would deny his word, "Why then, says he, I am a "dead man." *Cosmo* declar'd, that the Earl of *Leicester* had drawn him into this design, by the promise of a reward. And *De Maulde* confess'd, that he was led aside by the insinuations of *Cosmo*, the name of the Earl of *Leicester*, and the credit of *Meetkirke*. *Cosmo* only was expos'd to torture; and as he was upon the rack, cried out upon his Lordship, *O Excellence, à quoy employez vous les gens!* The other two were sentenc'd



to be beheaded. The Earl of *Leicester* was at *Alkmaer*, when news was brought him of the sad fate of his confederates, and is reported to have said, "'Tis high time to take care of my own head." And not long after he left the country, and return'd into ~~England~~, leaving the administration of the Provinces to the States themselves.

"At his departure he privately distributed among the members of his faction certain gold medals, stamp'd with his own effigies on one side, and on the reverse, a dog ready to depart, looking back upon a flock of sheep, from whence some had stray'd. Over the dog was this inscription, *Invitus desero*; and near the sheep, *Non gregem, sed ingratos*. Prince *Maurice* was immediately appointed Governour of the united Provinces in his Lordship's stead, and the Lord *Willoughby* made General of the *English* forces in the Low-Countries by her Majesty. But notwithstanding his absence, he is reported to have still fomented divisions in

"Camden's *Hist. of Qu. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 399.

the country. The garrisons of *Gertruydenberg*, *Naerden*, *Worcom*, *Huesden*, and *Medemblike*, acted as tho' they had been *English* subjects, and ow'd no allegiance but to Queen *Elizabeth*. And Sir *William Russel*, the Governour of *Flushing*, \* as Mr. *Camden* relates, having drawn over to his interest the inhabitants of *Armuyden* and *Campvere*, was suspected by the States of a design to reduce the isle of *Walcheren* to the obedience of her Majesty. Tho' this seems to have been my Lord of *Leicester's* project before his departure, and for which he † appears to have had her Majesty's

\* Ibid. p. 400:

† Copy of her Majesty's Letter to the Earl of *Leicester*, Sept. 2. 1587. in the *Cabala*, Part II. p. 51.  
— And whereas of late We have been given to understand, that the town of *Campshire*, at such time as the Count *Hollack* would have placed certain soldiers there, refused the same, unless they might receive direction from our Governour there, offering, as We are farther inform'd, to receive any such garrison, as We should be pleased to place there, so as they might be paid in such sort as our garrison in *Flushing* is; We have therefore thought good, considering how greatly it importeth Us to be possessed of that town, for the better assuring of that whole island of *Walkering*, especially considering the late practice  
bel

jeſty's commiſſion. The States privately expreſs'd their miſtruſt in a letter to the Queen, and publickly cauſ'd a medal to be ſtruck on this occaſion, whereon were repreſented two earthen pots ſwimming in the ſea, with this inſcription, *Si collidimur frangimur*. And the Queen upon recollection, conſidering the dangers which now threaten'd her from the preparations in *Spain*, gave orders to my Lord *Willoughby* to give a check to the ſeditious ſpirit prevailing in the Low-Countries, and reduce the diſaffected to a ſubmiſſion to the States, which by the aſſiſtance of Prince *Maurice* he happily perform'd.

'Tis ſaid, that my Lord of *Leiceſter*

*held by the ſaid Count, that you ſhall do your beſt endeavours to induce the Burghers and Inhabitants of that town to receive ſome of the bands to be garriſon'd there. And for the better inducing of the Burghers of the ſaid town to yield thereunto, We have thought good to write our letters of thanks unto them; and withal have prayed them that they would be content to receive ſome of the bands of our ſoldiers, ſerving in thoſe countries, to be garriſon'd within that town, as by the copies of the ſaid letters you may perceive. Given &c.*

! Camden's *Hiſt. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 400.

T

upon

upon his return, finding an accusation was preparing against him by my Lord *Buckhurst*, and some others of his enemies, for his misconduct in the management of affairs in the Low-Countries, and that he was summon'd to appear and give an account of his behaviour before the Council, privately threw himself at her Majesty's feet, and implor'd her protection; that he earnestly besought her, "not to receive him with disgrace upon his return, whom at his first departure she had sent out with honour; nor bring down alive to the grave, whom her former goodness had rais'd from the dust;" and that the Queen was so pacify'd with his expressions of humility and sorrow, as to pass by the displeasure she had conceiv'd against him, and admit him into her former grace and affection. The next day, when it was expected he should have given in his answer, he took his place at the Council-table; and when the secretary had begun to read his accusation, he rose up and interrupted him, complain-  
2 ing

ing of the injuries that had been offer'd him, and declaring that his publick commission was limited by private instructions ; and making his appeal to the Queen, he evaded the accusation, and came off in triumph. <sup>2</sup> But it far'd not so with my Lord *Buckhurst* ; for my Lord of *Leicester's* aversion to him, and power with the Queen, so far prevail'd, that a censure was pass'd upon his negotiation, and his Lordship confin'd to his house for several months.

<sup>1</sup> In the mean time the Queen thought proper to move for an accommodation with the King of *Spain*, in reference to the affairs of *Flanders*. She engag'd the King of *Denmark* to interpose his authority, who readily accepted the mediation, and dispatch'd *John Ronsovio* as his minister to *Brussels*, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Duke of *Parma*,

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 398. See also the points objected to his Lordship, with his answers, and the replies of the Earl of Leicester, in the *Cabala*, Part II. p. 55. seq.

<sup>1</sup> Bentivoglio's *Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, &c. Part. II. lib. 4. p. 252, &c. Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* &c. lib. 3. p. 407, &c.



and afterwards approv'd by the King of *Spain*. And tho' the States very resolutely oppos'd all offers towards a peace, yet the Commissioners on both sides met at *Bourbourg*, a small town between *Dunkirk* and *Graveling*, to settle the terms of the treaty, tho' without any agreement.

The designs of Princes in their negotiations are very mysterious, but it was conjectur'd, that the King and Queen sought mutually to amuse each other with the expectations of a peace, in order to carry on the better their provisions for a war. The preparations in the ports of *Spain* had already made a great noise in the world, and there was no reason to doubt, but their principal views were directed against *England*. And the Queen appears to have been desirous to gain time to be upon her guard, and provide against the invasion. For the treaty was continued till the *Spanish* fleet was arriv'd upon the coast of *England*, and the noise of their cannon might be heard from the sea. And then

then the Commissioners were dismiss'd by the Duke of *Parma*, and honourably conducted as far as *Calais*. This fleet, which was insolently nam'd the *Invincible*, consisted of 130 vessels, with 19290 soldiers on board, 8350 sea-men, 2080 galley-slaves, and 2630 pieces of ordnance. It was commanded by Don *Alphonso Perez de Guzman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and under him by *John Martinez de Recalde*, a sea-officer of distinction and experience.

<sup>b</sup> The Queen was not negligent in making all preparations requisite for her defence. She fitted out a considerable fleet under the command of the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, and farther lin'd the Southern coasts with 20000 men. An army of 1000 horse, and 22000 foot, was commanded by her General the Earl of *Leicester*, and encamp'd at *Tilbury*,

<sup>b</sup> Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 405. *The King of Scots letter upon this occasion, with her Majesty's answer, being wrote in a singular style, 'twas judg'd not unacceptable to the reader, to give 'em a place in the Appendix. See Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Tom. XVI. p. 18. and Append. Num. XII.*

near the mouth of the *Thames*; and another of 34000 foot, and 2000 horse, was under the Command of the Lord *Hunsdon*, and kept as a guard upon the Queen's person.

Upon the encampment at *Tilbury* her Majesty rode thro' all the squadrons of her army, attended by the Earls of *Leicester* and *Essex*, and *Norris* Lord Marshal, on foot; and having view'd 'em all, she express'd her satisfaction in their fidelity, and her sense of my Lord of *Leicester's* merit, in the manner following.

“ *My loving people,*

“ **W**E have been persuaded by  
 “ some that are careful of our  
 “ safety, to take heed how we commit  
 “ our selves to armed multitudes, for  
 “ fear of treachery; but I assure you, I  
 “ do not desire to live to distrust my  
 “ faithful and loving people. Let tyrants  
 “ fear, I have always so behav'd

“ *Dr. Sharp's Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, in the Cabala, Part I. p. 343.*

my

“ my self, that, under God, I have plac’d  
“ my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in  
“ the loyal hearts and good-will of my  
“ ſubjects; and therefore I am come a-  
“ mongſt you, as you ſee, at this time,  
“ not for my recreation and diſport,  
“ but being reſolv’d, in the miſt and  
“ heat of the battle, to live or die  
“ amongſt you all; to lay down for my  
“ God, and for my kingdom, and for  
“ my people, my honour and my blood,  
“ even in the duſt. I know I have the  
“ body but of a weak and feeble wo-  
“ man; but I have the heart and ſto-  
“ mach of a King, and of a King of  
“ *England* too, and think foul ſcorn  
“ that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any Prince  
“ of *Europe*, ſhould dare to invade the  
“ borders of my Realm; to which, ra-  
“ ther than any diſhonour ſhall grow  
“ by me, I my ſelf will take up arms,  
“ I my ſelf will be your General, Judge,  
“ and Rewarder of every one of your  
“ virtues in the field. I know already,  
“ for your forwardneſs you have de-  
“ ſerv’d rewards and crowns; and We

“ do assure you, in the word of a  
 “ Prince, they shall be duly paid you.  
 “ In the mean time, my Lieutenant-  
 “ General shall be in my stead, than  
 “ whom never Prince commanded a  
 “ more noble or worthy subject; not  
 “ doubting but by your obedience to  
 “ my General, by your concord in the  
 “ camp, and your valour in the field,  
 “ we shall shortly have a famous victo-  
 “ ry over those enemies of my God, of  
 “ my Kingdoms, and of my People.”

<sup>d</sup> But notwithstanding her Majesty's  
 commendation, there was no opportunity  
 for his Lordship to exert his abilities on  
 this occasion; for the *Spanish* army ne-  
 ver landed on the *English* shore. For  
 such was the disposition of Divine  
 Providence, that after several engage-  
 ments at sea, in which the *Spaniards*  
 continually came off with a consider-  
 able loss, the remains of their ruin'd  
 fleet were at last entirely dispers'd by  
 storms and tempests, and driven back to

<sup>d</sup> See Mr. Camden's *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. un-  
 der the year 1588.

their



their own coasts most miserably weather-beaten and impair'd.

This was the last expedition in which my Lord of *Leicester* was engag'd; <sup>e</sup> for retiring soon after to his castle at *Kenilworth*, as he was upon his journey, he was taken ill of a fever, at *Cornbury Park* in *Oxfordshire*, of which he dy'd on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *September* following.

“ He was esteem'd, says <sup>f</sup>Mr. *Camden*,  
 “ a most accomplish'd courtier, free and  
 “ bountiful to soldiers and students; a  
 “ cunning time-server and respecter of  
 “ his own advantages; of a disposition  
 “ ready and apt to please; crafty and  
 “ subtle towards his adversaries; much  
 “ given formerly to women, and in his  
 “ latter days doating extremely upon  
 “ marriage. But whilst he preferr'd  
 “ power and greatness, which is sub-  
 “ ject to be envied, before solid vir-  
 “ tue, his detracting emulators found  
 “ large matter to speak reproachfully of

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. and Sir W. Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, Vol. II. p. 221.

<sup>f</sup> *Hist. of Q. Eliz.* lib. 3. p. 419.

“ him,

“ him, and even when he was in his  
 “ most flourishing condition spared not  
 “ disgracefully to defame him by libels,  
 “ not without a mixture of some un-  
 “ truths.”

’Tis said <sup>s</sup>, that he died in the Queen’s debt, and that her Majesty caus’d his goods to be sold at a publick sale, that payment might be made; for however favourable she might have been in all other respects, the Queen is observ’d never to have remitted the debts that were owing to her treasury. From *Cornbury Park* his corps was remov’d to *Warwick*, where he was <sup>b</sup>interr’d in our Lady’s Chapel, adjoining to the Quire of the Collegiate Church, and a very noble monument erected to his memory, with the following inscription.

DEO VIVENTIUM S.

SPE CERTA RESURGENDI IN  
 CHRISTO HIC SITUS EST IL-  
 LUSTRISSIMUS ROBERTUS DUD-

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 420.

<sup>b</sup> Dugdale’s *Hist. of Warwickshire*, &c. p. 356. *seqq.*

LEYUS,

LEYUS, JOHANNIS DUCIS NOR-  
THUMBRIÆ, COMITIS WARWICI,  
VICECOMITIS INSULÆ, &c. FILIUS  
QUINTUS, COMES LEICESTRIÆ,  
BARO DENBIGHIÆ, ORDINIS TUM  
S. GEORGII CUM S. MICHAELIS  
EQUES AURATUS, REGINÆ ELI-  
ZABETHÆ (APUD QUAM SINGU-  
LARI GRATIA FLOREBAT) HIPPO-  
COMUS REGIÆ AULÆ, SUBINDE  
SENESCHALLUS, AB INTIMIS CON-  
CILIIS; FORESTARUM, PARCO-  
RUM, CHACEARUM, &c. CITRA  
TRENTAM SUMMUS JUSTICIA-  
RIUS; EXERCITUS ANGLICI A DIC-  
TA REGINA ELIZABETHA MISSI IN  
BELGIO, AB ANNO MDLXXXV. AD  
ANNUM MDLXXXVII. LOCUM TE-  
NENS ET CAPITANEUS GENERA-  
LIS; PROVINCIARUM CONFED-  
RATARUM IBIDEM GUBERNATOR  
GENERALIS ET PRÆFECTUS, REG-  
NIQUE. ANGLIÆ LOCUM TENENS  
CONTRA PHILIPPUM II. HISPANUM,  
NUMEROSA CLASSE ET EXERCITU  
ANGLIAM ANNO MDLXXXVIII. IN-  
VADENTEM.

ANI-

## THE LIFE OF ROBERT,

ANIMAM DEO SERVATORI REDDIDIT, ANNO SALUTIS M. D. LXXXVIII. DIE QUARTO SEPTEMBRIS. OPTIMO ET CHARISSIMO MARITO, MÆSTISSIMA UXOR LETICIA, FRANCISCI KNOLLES ORDINIS S. GEORGII EQUITIS AURATI, ET REGIÆ THESAURARII, FILIA, AMORIS ET CONJUGALIS FIDEI ERGO POSUIT.

But not content with the titles here mention'd, he is reported <sup>i</sup> by Mr. *Camden* to have aspir'd to a still higher degree of authority and power, not long before his death; and that after the *Spanish* expedition, the letters patents were actually drawn for creating him Lord Lieutenant, under the Queen, in the government of *England* and *Ireland*; but that my Lord *Burghley*, and the Lord Chancellor *Hatton* prevented his obtaining 'em, by representing to her Majesty the danger of entrusting too great a power in any one man's hands.

<sup>i</sup> *Hist. of Q. Eliz. &c. lib. 3. p. 419.*

By his last <sup>k</sup> will and testament, dated at *Midlebourgh*, Aug. 11. 1587. he impower'd his executor to sell his estate in *Lancashire*, which formerly belong'd to Sir *Tho. Butler*, for the redemption of the Lordships of *Denbigh* and *Chirke*, and left 'em to his *base son* (as he calls him) *Robert Dudley*, after the death of his brother the Earl of *Warwick*. After whose decease he also gave him the castle of *Kenilworth*, with all the parks, chases and lands belonging to it, with the manors of *Balsall* and *Long-Ichington*, &c. and *Leicester-House* in *London*.

This Sir *Robert Dudley* (for he was afterwards prefer'd to the honour of knighthood) was brought up at *Oxford*, in the college of *Christ-Church*, and is said to have excell'd in mathematical learning. In the year 1595, he had the command of three small ships, with which he took and destroy'd nine *Spanish* ships, loaden with wine, in the *Tri-*

<sup>k</sup> Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. 2. p. 221. *seqq.*



nity Isle. And soon after taking a voyage to the *West-Indies*, he call'd the island in the mouth of the river *Ori-noque* after his own name *Dudleyana*. And notwithstanding that my Lord of *Leicester* nam'd him his base son in this his testament, there is reason to believe that he was not illegitimate. For it appear'd by several depositions afterwards taken upon oath in the *Star-Chamber*, that the Earl of *Leicester* had been lawfully married to his mother the Lady *Douglasse Sheffield*, by a proper Minister, according to the form prescrib'd by the Church of *England*. But these depositions and examinations were, by the interest of the Lady *Lettice*, widow to the Earl of *Effex*, whom my Lord of *Leicester* had openly married some time before his death, order'd to be seal'd up by the clerk of the court, and never more to be seen or publish'd; and a censure was farther pass'd upon the deponents, as having enter'd into a combination and conspiracy to defame the said Lady *Lettice*, and unjustly to entitle

title Sir *Robert Dudley* to the honours which his ancestors enjoy'd.

The unfairness of this proceeding gave him such dissatisfaction, that he immediately resolv'd to leave the kingdom, and obtaining a license to travel for three years, he took a journey into *Italy*. But his adversaries, taking advantage of his absence, procur'd a special Privy-Seal to command him to return: And upon his refusal, his lands were seiz'd upon by the Statute of Fugitives, and the mean profits of 'em apply'd to his Majesty's use. The castle of *Kenilworth*, and the lands adjoining to it, were found upon survey to amount to upwards of thirty eight thousand, five hundred and fifty pound, tho' valu'd beneath the true worth.

But some time after, Prince *Henry*, delighted with the pleasantness of its situation, made application to Sir *Robert Dudley* to obtain his title to it by purchase. And accordingly, in consideration of fourteen thousand, five hundred pound, to be paid within a twelve-month,

month, and some other conditions; certain deeds were seal'd, and fines levy'd, for settling the right of inheritance to these lands in the Prince and his heirs. But Prince *Henry* dying soon after, there was not above three thousand pound ever paid, and that being given to a merchant, who is said to have broke, it never came into Sir *R. Dudley's* hands. However, Prince *Charles* succeeded as heir to his brother, and enter'd into possession.

Sir *Robert Dudley*, upon his leaving *England*, is reported to have taken along with him a daughter of Sir *Robert Southwell's*, in the habit of a page, and to have afterwards married her in *Italy*. He seated himself in the dominions of the Duke of *Tuscany*, contriv'd an expedient for draining the fens and marshes in the neighbourhood of *Leghorn*, and rais'd that poor town, which was then no other than a village for fishermen, to be one of the most famous sea-ports in all *Italy*. And the reputation of his accomplishments spreading into *Germany*,

the title of Duke was conferr'd upon him and his heirs, by Letters Patents from the Emperor *Ferdinand* the second: whereupon he took the style of Duke of *Northumberland*, which had been bore by his grandfather, tho' forfeited by attainder in the first year of Queen *Mary*. He erected a beautiful palace in the city of *Florence*; and his daughters by the wife he took along with him were all of 'em married to so many Princes of the Empire. <sup>1</sup> The Lady also, whom he left behind, upon application to King *Charles I.* obtain'd a grant, under the Great Seal of *England*, of the title of Duchess, for her natural life; and that her daughters should have place and precedence as children to a person of that quality.

<sup>1</sup> See the Appendix, Numb. XIII.

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# THE APPENDIX.

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## NUMB. I.

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*Extract from Stow's Annals, &c. pag.  
657. seq.*

**T**HE creation of Sir *Robert Dudley* Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the Queenes Majestie, who was created Barron of *Denbigh*, and after Earl of *Leicester*, on *Michaelmas-day* at *S. James's*, with the gift of the manour of *Killingworth*, and other things there, to him and his heires, to the yearely value of four and twenty pound and better. Firſt, the ſaid Lord attended on the Queenes Highnes to the chappell, and from the chappell to ſervice, and when he was returned to the chamber of preſence, the ſaid Lord with other departed to the Lord Chamberlaines chamber, and ſhifted them; the ſaid Lord *Robert* in his ſurcote with the hood, his mantle born before him by the Lord *Hunſdon*, and led by the Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admirall, by the right hand, and the Lord *Strange* on the left hand, in their parliament robes, Garter bearing the pattent, and before him the officers of armes, and ſo proceeded into the chamber of preſence, where the Queenes Highneſſe ſate under the cloath of eſtate

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with noblemen on each side of her; the Ambassa-  
dor of *France* was also present, with another stran-  
ger an *Italian*: And when the said Lord, with the  
other, came in the Queenes sight, they made their  
obeisance threetimes, the said Lord kneeled downe,  
after the which Garter presented the letters pattents  
to the Lord Chamberlain, and he presented the  
same to the Queens Highnesse, who gave it to Sir  
*William Cicill* Secretary, who read the same with  
a loud voyce, and at the words of *creavimus* the  
Lord of *Hunsdon* presented the mantle to the  
Queenes Majestie, who put on the same, whereby  
he was created Barron of *Denbigh* for him and  
his heires. Then the pattent was read out to the  
end, after the which he delivered it to the Queene  
again, and her Highnesse gave it to the said Lord,  
who gave her Majestie most humble thanks, and  
he rose up and departed to the chamber they came  
from, the trumpets sounding before him. Then  
hee shifted him of those robes, and put on the  
robes of estate of an Earle, and being led by the  
Earl of *Sussex* on the right hand, and the Earl  
of *Huntington* on his left hand, the Earle of *War-  
wicke* bearing his sword the pommell upward, and  
the gold about the same, all in their robes of estate,  
the Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admirall, in his parlia-  
ment robes, bearing his cap with the coronall,  
Garter before him bearing his pattent, and the other  
officers of arms before him, they proceede as  
afore into the chamber of presence, where, after  
they made their obeyance, the said Earle kneeled  
downe, and Garter deliver'd his pattent to the  
Lord Chamberlaine, who gave the same to the  
Queenes

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Queenes Majestie, and her Highnesse gave the same to Sir *William Cicill* Secretary to reade, who read the same, and at the words *cincturam gladii* the Earle of *Warwicks* presented the sword to the Queenes Highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the new Earle, putting the point under his left arme, and after her Majestie put on his cap with the coronall, then his pattent was read out to the end, and then the said Secretary delivered it again to the Queene, and her Highnesse gave it to the said new Earle of *Leicester*, who gave her humble thanks for the same, and then arose and went into the councill chamber to dinner, the trumpets sounding before; and at dinner he sate in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid Ambassadour of *France*, and the said *Italian*, with divers other Earles and Lords; and after the second course, Garter with the other officers of armes proclaimed the Queenes Majesties stile, and after, the stile of the said Earle, for the which they had fifteene pound; to wit, for his barronny five pound, and for his earledome tenne pound, and Garter had his gowne of blacke velvet, garded with three gards of the same, layd on with lace, lined through with blacke Taffata, and garded on the inner side with the same, and on the sleeves 38 paire of aglets gold.

*Du tresnoble & puissant Seigneur Robert Conte de Leycestre, Baron de Denbigh, Chevalier du tresnoble Ordre de la Jarritiere, & grand Esquier de la Royne nostre Sovereigne.*

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### NUMB. II.

*Comiti Leycestriæ cancellario responsio Academiae Oxoniensis, 8. Augusti, 1565.*

**D**UO sunt, ut honor tuus sapienter & acute scribit, præcipua literarum fundamenta; quorum alterum est, ut bonæ leges sanciantur, alterum ut sancitæ diligenter & studiose observentur. Illud ut fieret, quantum in nobis erat, vigilasse nos & elaborasse non diffitemur; in hoc verò nostram foecordiam reprehendi, & merito quidem reprehendi, ab honore tuo vehementer nos pudet, insignissime Cancellarie. Qua quidem in re immensum est profecto & infinitum quod tuæ dignitati debemus, propterea quod nostram in re tam necessariâ diligentiam suavissimis tuis literis, pietatis & sapientiæ plenis, velis excitare. Et quanquam homines fortasse decet verecundos, quod malè commissum est, id velle, quantum in ipsis est, occultare & obtegere, nos tamen honori tuo fingemus nihil, sed aperte confitebimur, fuisse nos in his nostris novis legibus observandis negligentiores, quàm vel homines providos & prudentes oportuit, vel officium nostrum postulavit. Sed ita tamen hoc ipsum fatemur honori tuo, ut culpæ nos veniam speremus adepturos. Non enim ignorat amplitudo tua, quantum sit, & quam laboriosum, agere cum multitudine, quæ natura sua vel penitus effrenata est, vel laxissimas saltem habenas concupiscit; & intelligit prudentiâ

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tuâ nemo melius, quæ res male fieri longo jam tempore consueverunt, quam ægre & difficulter, idque pedetentim, corrigantur; & videt excellentiâ tuâ nemo acutius, cum novum aliquod instituitur & attentatur, principium omne esse difficultatis plenum. Quod vero ad antiqua nostra statuta attinet, nullum nos unquam tempus extitisse arbitramur, in quo laudabilius observarentur. Nam & in scholis disputatur à bacchalaureis, nunquam subtilius, nunquam vehementius; & à magistris artes leguntur & explicantur, nunquam diligentius; & cætera exercitia & disputationes habentur & audiuntur, nunquam avidius. Quæ certè omnia magnam nobis spem adferunt, brevi fore ut cæteris etiam in rebus vel majorem vel saltem parem diligentiam videamus. Et quanquam in eam fortasse ætatem incidimus, quæ nimiam in omni re quærit & amplectitur licentiam, speramus tamen neminem tam longè aberrâsse, quin & possit & velit revocari, eoque libentius quod boni omnes prudentissimis tuis literis intelligunt, amorem & pietatem tuam nullâ re facilius posse conservari, quàm si diligenter laborent & enitantur, ut auctoritati legum modeste pareant & obsequantur. Ut ut est, honori tuo recipimus & pollicemur, nihil nos in posterum commissuros, quod vel tuam offendant dignitatem, vel nostræ famæ & existimationi obsit, vel academïæ nostræ laudem & splendorem ullam in partem minuat & obscuret. Interim verò humiliter à tuâ dignitate petimus, ut pristinam tuam erga nos pietatem diutissimè velis conservare: cujus bonitati gratias agimus immortales, quod privilegia nostra, i. e. totius academïæ fundamenta, tam strenue nuper &



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amanter defenderis. Significavit enim nobis *Tho. Caius*, quid honor tuus in illius causâ nostro rogatu fecerit, quantosque labores susceperit, ut si commodè fieri posset, privilegiorum libertate frueretur. Quâ in re quanquam illi fortasse hæc insignis tua bonitas non tantum profuit, quantum & tutè voluisti, & nos omnes optavimus, tamen quoniam singularis quædam utilitas ad nos posterosque nostros inde perventura est, nos omnes honori tuo tantopere nosmet obligatos arbitramur, ut hoc uno beneficio ad cætera tua, quæ ampla sunt & pene infinita, quasi cumulum quendam accessisse judicemus. Valeat amplitudo tua. 8. Augusti 1565.

### NUM B. III.

*Ex MS. penes Illustriss. Comit. Anglesey, f. 24. b. and printed in Ashmole's Institution, &c. of the Order of the Garter, p. 369.*

*The order and manner of furnishing the chappel at the Queen's palace of Westminster, against Thursday the 24th of Jan. 1565. Anno 8. Eliz. Reginae, that the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Leicester received the Order of St. Michael there.*

Item, **T**HE said chappel, before and behind the Stalls to the ground, was hanged with rich arras, and the upper part from the table  
of

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of administration to the stalls hanged with like stuff, which said table was richly garnish'd with plate and jewels, as followeth. First, to the wall was set in a row five gilt basins, and afore them another row, and in the middle a gilt cross between two great gilt cups covered, garnished with stone, a ship or ark likewise garnished, a fountain of mother of pearl, and a pair of gilt candlesticks; afore that another row, in the middle whereof was set a rich bason and ewer gilt, railed over with gold, between two great maudlyn cups with covers, two great leywres, two cruets, and a pax all gilt; and over the said table on the wall upon the arras was fasten'd a fronte of cloth of silver, embroidered with angels of gold, and before the said table to the ground, a front of the same suit.

The Dean's stall was garnished with cushens, and a rich cloth of estate, whereon was set within a black table the arms of the *French King*, within his own order, under a crown imperial, the ground palee of six, blue, white, and orange tawney, without any style.

Then on the same side over the sixth stall on the arras hanged a like table, with the arms within the order, crest and supporters of the Deputy, Mounseur *Remboilliet*, (with a cushen before him) the table palee of six *Ar.* and *Sa.* the arms *Sab.* a *saulter Ar.* the crest a *Lyon couchant Ar.* colored *Or.* his supporters two *woodmen* with clubs in their hands the great end downward, and under his style written, *viz. Messier Jaques d'Augennes Seigneur de Remboilliet Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, & Capitaine des cinquantes hommes des armes de ses Ordonnances.* On

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On the other side on the arras over the eight stall hanged a little table palee, of six *Ar.* and *Gu.* with the arms within that order of the Duke of *Norfolk*, under a Duke's crown, with no crest, nor supporters, but his style, *Du tresbault, puissant & tresnoble Prince Thomas Duc de Norfolk Conte Marisball d'Angleterre, Seigneur de Mowbray, Se-grave & de Brews, Chivaler de tresnoble ordre de la Jarritier, & aussi du tresnoble ordre de St. Michell.*

On the third stall beneath on the same side, hanged a like table palee of six, *Or* and *Az.* with the arms in that order of the Earle of *Leicester*, under an Earle's crown, without crest or supporters, but his style, *Du tresnoble & puissant Seigneur Robert Conte de Leicester, Baron de Denbigh, Chivaler du tresnoble, &c. & grand Escuyer de la Roynie nostre souveraigne.*

On the ground, before the Duke and Earle's stall, stood two chairs with cushens for them to sit on, if they pleased, 'till they took their stalls; and about the stalls on the south-side was set a chair, carpet and cushen, where the Embassador *Leger* sate all the ceremony time; and below, afore the Deputy's stall, was set a form, cover'd with a carpet, for Monsieur *Doze*, alias *St. Michell* to sit on; and above that on either side were tables and forms, for the gentlemen and children of the chappel.

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*The receiving of the said Order of St. Michael,  
Thursday the 24th of Jan. Anno 8. Reg. Eliz.*

*Item,* **A** Bout ten of the clock the said day, the Embassador *Leger*, with Mounseieur *Remboiliet* the *French* King's Deputy, together with the other Lords and Gentlemen accompanied with certain *English* Gentlemen, came to the court at the Queen's palace of *Westminster*, where at the Gate they were met by the Earl of *Warwick* and others, and convey'd up to the Queen's great clofset, whither after a while came the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Leicester*; and for that the said Duke and Deputy had not 'till then seen either other, they then embraced each other, and then communed a while; and then the said Deputy left the same Lords there, and he, with Mounseieur *Doze*, alias *St. Michaell*, Mr. *Garter* and others, went down thro' the chappel into the vestry, where he shifted him into the robes and habit of the order of *St. Michaell*, as followeth.

First, having on afore his hose, shoos, girdle, and scabberd of white Velvet, he there put on a coat with sleeves of cloth of silver, the edges laid with gold lace, and over that his mantle of cloth of silver broad garded with scallop-shells, environed with clouds and rays of the sun, and other embroidery of gold very richly lined with white taffeta, and on the right shoulder it was tied, and turned upon the left shoulder, to put his arm underneath, at, and over that on his right shoulder, lay his hood of crimson velvet, spreading all over his back, the tippet over his breast, the end put under the hood,

on

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on the left shoulder, garded and embroidered like the mantle; and over the order lay the collar of gold, made with knots and scallop-shells, whereat hanged the picture of *St. Michael*, garnished with stones. And whiles the said Deputy was shifting him, the Duke and Earl came down into the chappel, apparelled as followeth: And first, the Duke with his shoes, hose, girdle and scabbard of white velvet, his neather stockings of white silk knit, his coat with the sleeves on of cloth of silver, the edges laid with gold lace, in a short gown of russet velvet, garded with the same, furred with leopards, and faced with lisards, the sleeves set with eighteen pair of agglets of gold, and a cap of black velvet with a silver band; the Earl of *Leicester* likewise in all points apparelled, but that his gown was russet satten, garded with velvet, furred and faced as the other, the sleeves set with thirty pair of aglets of gold, and in his cap a white feather; and so the Duke and Earl being come into the chappel, stood beneath on the ground, before their arms and stalls; and then they there staving, proceeded forth of the vestry into the chappel two Noblemen, named Mounseur *Cleremont* and Mounseur *de Luppe*, carrying the two mantles and hoods in their arms, after them Mounseur *Doze*, alias *St. Michael*, King of Arms, carrying the two collars lying on a cushen upon his arms, without any cote of arms, but wearing about his neck, hanging at a ribband, at his breast the arms of *France*, within the order of gold; after him followed the Deputy *Remboilliet*, doing reverence to his Majesty's stall, as he passed by, and there went up  
and



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and stood with his back to the communion-table, the Embassador then standing somewhat near him; then *St. Michael* went and brought the Duke and Earl to the Deputy, afore whom his secretary read the commission, whereby he had authority from the King his master, to make those two Noblemen Knights of the order of *St. Michael*, which read out, on cushions they two kneeled down, and the Deputy himself read unto them their oaths, which ended they stood up, and then *Doze*, alias *St. Michae*ll took off their two gowns, and they two again kneeled down, and the two Lords, Mounseur *Cleremont* and Mounseur *de Lupe*, presented the mantles and hoods to the Deputy, who put on the same; first that on the Duke, and then the other on the Earl himself, reading unto them the signification thereof; and then the said Deputy put on their collers, likewise reading the signification thereof, which said mantles, hoods, collers, and cotes, were sent them by the *French King*, and were in all points like to the Deputy's afore declared, and the cotes were sent them to their chambers, afore they came, where they put them on. Then the Deputy with *St. Michell* before him, and the other two following, proceeded down, and after reverence done to the King's stall, took theirs, the Deputy first, the Duke next, and the Earl last: Then the prayers, as the Letany and Commemoration, began, and at the offering time, the Deputy came forth of his stall, and stood in the middle of the chappell, below, before his stall, and made his obeysance both to the table and his Master's stall, and then proceeded, with *St. Michell* before him, up to the offering, making

as

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as he passed by a beck to either of his companions (they sitting or standing still in their stalls) which offering ended, he returned and took his stall. Then the Duke of *Norfolk* came forth making obeysance to the *French* King's stall, and proceeded up, with *St. Michell* before him, and offered and return'd to his stall. And then the Earl of *Leiceester* likewise offred. Then the service being ended, with reverence to the King's stall, they proceeded forth of the chappel, first *St. Michell*, then the Earl, then the Duke, last the Deputy, till they came into the counsel chamber, where they dined, all three sitting in three chairs on one side of the table; which dinner ended, they went all three into the privy-chamber to the Queen, and after a while came forth into the counsel chamber, where they put off their cotes, mantles, hoods, and collars, and put on their usual apparel; and then the said Duke and Earl brought the Deputy to the great chamber door, where they took their leave of him, and they returned into the chamber of presence again, and so ended the ceremony.

### NUM B. IV.

*Orat. Elizabethæ Reginae ad Oxonienses habita, die Jovis, Sept. 5.  
Anno Christi 1566.*

**Q**UI malè agit, odit lucem; & ego quidem, quia nihil aliud nisi malè agere possum, idcirco odi lucem, id est, conspectum vestrum. Atque

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que sane me magna tenet dubitatio, dum singula considero, quæ hic aguntur, laudemne an vituperem, taceamne an eloquar. Si eloquar, patefaciam vobis, quàm sim litterarum rudis. Tacere autem nolo, ne defectus videatur esse contemptus. Et quia tempus breve est quod habeo ad dicendum, idcirco omnia in pauca conferam, & orationem meam in duas partes dividam, in laudem & vituperationem. Laus autem ad vos pertinet. Ex quo enim primum Oxoniam veni, multa vidi, multa audiui, probavi omnia. Erant enim & prudenter facta, & eleganter dicta. At ea, quibus in prologis vos ipsi excusastis, neque probare ut Regina possùm, neque ut christiana debeo. Cæterum quia in exordio semper adhibuistis cautionem, mihi sanè illa disputatio non displicuit. Nunc venio ad alteram partem, nempe vituperationem, atque hæc pars mihi propria est. Sanè fateor parentes meos diligentissimè curavisse, ut in bonis literis rectè instituerer, & quidem in multarum linguarum varietate diu versata fui, quarum aliquam mihi cognitionem assumo; quod etsi verè, tamen verecundè dico. Habui quidem multos & doctos pædagogos, qui, ut me eruditam redderent, diligenter elaborarunt. Sed pædagogi mei posuerunt operam in agro sterili & infœcundo, ita fructus percipere vix poterant aut dignitate mea, aut illorum laboribus, aut vestra expectatione dignos. Quamobrem etsi omnes vos me abunde laudastis, ego tamen, quæ mihi conscia sum, quàm sim nulla laude digna, facile agnosco. Sed finem imponam orationi meæ, barbarissimis plenæ, si prius optavero & voto unum addidero.

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addidero. Votum meum hoc erit, ut me vivente  
sitis florentissimi, me mortua beatissimi.

### N U M B. V.

*Ad clariss. virum Dominum Robertum  
illustrissimum Leicestriae Comitem Aca-  
demiae Oxoniensis epistola.*

Q Uod literis tuis nuperrimè ad nos missis Do.  
Doctori Humphredo in insequentem annum  
Procancellariatûs munus prorogâris, id ita nobis  
omnibus placet factum, illustrissime Comes, ut an-  
ticipatam providentiâ tuâ petitionis pro eo nostræ  
gratiam doleamus, resectum in annum secundum  
illum, quem ob prioris anni sapienter & modera-  
tè gestum imperium amamus, & lætemur plurimum,  
& gratias honori tuo, ut debemus, maximas aga-  
mus. Quod hisdem literis nos ad mutuam inter  
nos concordiam fovendam, ad literarum studia qui-  
bus possumus modis propaganda, ad obedientiam  
superioribus præstandam, inferioribus amorem cum  
severitate salutari exhibendum, hortaris, agnosci-  
mus paterni affectûs amica monita, nec erimus un-  
quam vel tam supinè negligentes, vel tam incon-  
sultè temerarii, ut non & saluberrimis adhortationi-  
bus tuis libenter acquiescamus, & quo vigeant apud  
nos probitas morum, doctrinæ studia, religionis pu-  
ritas, omnibus nervis, omnibus viribus contendamus.  
Quod tertium non tuæ nobis literæ, sed Procanc-  
cellarius ipse coram renunciavit, esse quosdam his  
regni

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regni comitiis, qui palam in academicos calumniis inveſti, clam & occultè academiis ipsis inſidias moliantur; eis autem tua præcipuè ope & auxilio partim itum jamdudum eſſe obviam, partim occurſum iri ut ſperamus in futurum, quid dicemus, Patrone noſter ſumme? Utrum eorum improbitatem inauditam accuſemus magis, qui literas vitæ lumen è vitâ tollere nituntur, an noſtrum ſtatum infelicem, & inſauſta tempora deploremus, qui ampliſſimis ab omnibus principibus ſemper ſulti privilegijs, nunc ab iniquiſſimis hominibus in ſtatûs noſtri controverſiam vocemur, an tuam potius exaggerati animi generoſam altitudinem admiremur, qui tanquam Hercules Hydram, ſic ſolus monſtrum iſtud hominum depoſcas, ſolus pugnare pro muſis adverſus Cyclopidas iſtos duros & barbaros non extimeſcas? Non capit epitola, quam meretur eorum impudentia, reprehentionem; non admittunt negotia tua, quæ decet noſtra tempora, querelam; non fert audire modeſtia tua tuam, quam prædicari à nobis & proclamari oportet, laudem. Hoc tantum de quoque genere breviter dicemus; non potuit Sathanas, quin erumperent in perniciem ejus obrutæ tenebris & ſepultæ literæ, vult nunc exortas; delere palam oppugnare non audent, vult cuniculis evertere; omnes earum partes uno impetu non putat aggrediendas ſimul, vult pedetentim agere. Nos conqueri poſſumus, ſed malo ipſi non poſſumus mederi; antiqua noſtra & recentia privilegia oſtentare licet, ſed non licet nobis iſtorum improbitatem refrænare; innocentiam noſtram teſtari, calumnias eſſe, quicquid adverſus nos conſingunt, clamare quimus; ſed quibus perſuaderi non poteſt, iis ut perſuadeatur, nequimus cogere.



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re. Tu vero, Comes illustrissime, sic tibi persuade, esse quidem virtutes tuas numero multas & illustres specie, sed nullam ex iis omnibus ad solidam gloriam esse ampliorem, quàm fideliter semper & liternue præstitum literis patrocinium. Credito, quod jure debes, nobilitate te haud scimus an ab ullo superari, sed nobilitatem antiquam Alexandros, Antigonos, Cæsares, Augustos nullâ re propius referre, quàm perfugium afflictis, subsidium periclitantibus literis afferendo. Quod nisi auguramur vana, & certam fidem nostram casus aliquis fortunæ invidus eludit, confidenter speramus, atque adeo pollicemur nobis eventurum, ut Oxoniensibus nobis qui post tua tempora favebunt, ob singularem tuam in academiam & academicos omnes beneficentiam, liberalitatem, sollicitudinem, providentiam, Dudlæi omnes tuo merito & nomine sint vocandi. Tu modo perge, ut coepisti, academix patrone, patrocinare literis; Cancellarius noster cum sis, circumscriptam cancellis angustioribus coerce protervitatem in perniciem literarum tam effrenate evagantem. Nos quod nostrum est, & gratias honori tuo, quantas capere animis possumus, humillimas & maximas agemus; & nisi inviderint fata, seculis omnibus futuris testatam aliquo monumento tuam istam tam excellentem virtutem relinquemus. Sunt nobis certa quædam negotia, nobilissime Domine, quæ longiori epistolæ non duximus committenda. Itaque misimus ad amplitudinem tuam, qui has perferret literas, M. Arthurum Aleyn. Is à nobis instructus honori tuo ea quæ volumus omnia renuntiabit; & quoniam in omnem eventum parati esse cupimus, res nostras, durantibus hisce comitiis, apud honorem

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honorem tuum procurabit. Humiliter autem ac demissè à tua bonitate contendimus, in iis quæ à nobis tibi referet, ut ei credas: Et quam in negotiis nostris opem implorabit, pro tua facilitate impertias. Vale decus & asylum literarum. Oxon. 4. nonas Junij. 1572.

*Honori tuo deditissima  
Academia Oxoniensis.*

### NUMB. VI.

*To the right honourable Francis Walsingham, Esq; Ambassador Resident for her Majesty in France.*

THE lamentable tragedy, that hath been there used of late, doth make all Christians look for a just revenge again at God's hands, as it hath pleased him to fear us, and so pinch us in the mean time with the scourge of correction, by the sufferance of his people thus to be murdered, but our sins deserve this and more; but I trust he will hold his holy hand over us, not to reward us altogether as we deserve, but somewhat, in his correction, comfort us, that we may see as well the fall of his and our enemies, as the blood of his Saints to be so innocently spilt, even for his mercies, let him turn it tenfold upon their heads, that they triumph not over much, to the utter hearts grief of his poor flock. If that King be author and doer of this act, shame and confusion light upon him;

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be he never so strong in the sight of men, the Lord hath not his power for nought; if he be not the author, but upon sudden fear and practise brought suddenly to it, as his Ambassador would have us think, although the yielding unto it be horrible, yet if frailty and fear hath constrained it, and that his heart with due repentance seek the right satisfaction, first of God, and then of the world, by prosecuting the enemies of God and his realm, that so entised them to it, then may I hope that it was not his own consent or liking. Otherwaies, if he continue in confirming the fact, and allowing the persons that did it, then must he be a Prince detested of all honest men, what religion soever they have; for as his fact was ugly, so was it inhumane, for whom should a man trust, if not his Prince's word? And these men, whom he hath put to slaughter, not only had his word, but his writing, and not <sup>a</sup> publique but private, with open proclamations, and all other manner of declarations that could be devised for the safety, which now being violated and broken, who can believe or trust him? But, Sir, the Ambassador hath inwardly dealt of late with me, and would have me believe that we shall shortly see that this matter is not the King's, and that he doth detest it so much as he will make revenge of it. God grant it be so, but you may easily understand it, and surely you shall do well, inwardly, as her Majesty hath written unto you (but warily) to discover it, even with himself; and if it may appear he stands in

<sup>a</sup> These words seem to have been transpos'd; it should rather be *not private but publique.*

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any fear of his person, or doubts his force to assist him, I know her Majesty will venture twenty thousand of her best subjects for him, and with him, in so good a quarrel. For it is almost incredible, that one so young, and hitherto so plain, so sincere, and of so good disposition, as you your self could not say too much of him, could thus be transform'd so suddenly, so dishonourable, from so good to ill. Well, you may shortly see it, and I pray you let us hear from you as often as you may. And so praying God to send you your health and safety, I bid you farewell, trusting you will be a mean for my nephew *Sidney*, that he may repair home, considering the present state there. In haste, the 11th of *Sept*.

*Your very friend,*

ROB. LEICESTER.

## NUMB. VII.

*Sir Philip Sidney's letter to Queen Elizabeth, touching her marriage with Mounseur.*

*Most feared and beloved, most sweet and gracious  
Sovereign,*

**T**O seek out excuses of this my boldness, and to arm the acknowledging of a fault with reasons for it, might better shew I knew I did amiss, than any way diminish the attempt, especially

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in your judgment; who being able to discern lively into the nature of the thing done, it were folly to hope, by laying on better colours, to make it more acceptable. Therefore carrying no other olive-branch of intercession, than the laying of my self at your feet; nor no other insinuation, either for attention or pardon, but the true vowed sacrifice of unfeign'd love; I will, in simple and direct terms, (as hoping they shall only come to your merciful eyes,) set down the overflowing of my mind in this most important matter, importing, as I think, the continuance of your safety, and, as I know, the joys of my life. And because my words (I confess shallow, but coming from the deep well-spring of most loyal affection) have deliver'd unto your most gracious ear, what is the general sum of my travelling thoughts therein; I will now but only declare, what be the reasons that make me think, that the marriage with Monsieur will be unprofitable unto you; then will I answer the objections of those fears, which might procure so violent a refuge.

The good or evils that will come to you by it, must be consider'd, either according to your estate or person. To your estate, what can be added to the being an absolute born, and accordingly respected, Princess? But, as they say, the *Irishmen* are wont to call over them that die, they are rich, they are fair, what needed they to dye so cruelly? Not unfitly of you, endow'd with felicity above all others, a man might well ask, what makes you in such a calm to change course? to so healthful a body to apply so unsavoury a medicine? what can recompence



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compence so hazardous an adventure? Indeed, were it but the altering of a well maintain'd and well approv'd trade: For, as in bodies natural, every sudden change is full of peril; so this body politick, whereof you are the only head, it is so much the more dangerous, as there are more humours to receive a hurtful impression: But hazards are then most to be regarded, when the nature of the patient is fitly compos'd to occasion them.

The patient I account your realm, the agent Monsieur and his design; for neither outward accidents do much prevail against a true inward strength; nor doth inward weakness lightly subvert it self, without being thrust at by some outward force.

Your inward force (for as for your treasures, indeed, the sinews of your crown, your Majesty doth best and only know) consisteth in your subjects, generally unexpert in warlike defence; and as they are divided now into mighty factions (and factions bound upon the never dying knot of Religion) the one of them, to whom your happy government hath granted the free exercise of the eternal truth, with this, by the continuance of time, by the multitude of them, by the principal offices and strength they hold, and lastly, by your dealings both at home and abroad against the adverse party, your state is so entrapped, as it were impossible for you, without excessive trouble, to pull your self out of the party so long maintain'd. For such a course once taken in hand, is not much unlike a ship in a tempest, which how dangerously soever it may be beaten with waves, yet is there no safe-

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ty or succour without it; These, therefore, as their souls live by your happy government, so are they your chief, if not your sole strength: These, howsoever the necessity of human life makes them lack, yet can they not look for better conditions than presently they enjoy: These, how their hearts will be galled, if not aliened, when they shall see you take a husband, a *Frenchman* and a papist, in whom (howsoever fine wits may find further dealings or painted excuses) the very common people well know this, that he is the son of a *Jezebel* of our age; that his brother made oblation of his own sister's marriage, the easier to make massacres of our brethren in belief; that he himself, contrary to his promise and all gratefulness, having had his liberty and principal estate by the Hugonots means, did sack *Lacharists*, and utterly spoil them with fire and sword. This, I say, even at the first sight gives occasion to all, truly religious, to abhor such a master, and consequently to diminish much of the hopeful love, they have long held to you.

The other faction, most rightly, indeed, to be called a faction, is the papists, men, whose spirits are full of anguish, some being infested by others, whom they accounted damnable; some having their ambition stoped, because they are not in the way of advancement; some in prison and disgrace; some whose best friends are banish'd practisers; many thinking you are an usurper; many thinking also you had disannulled your right, because of the Pope's excommunication; all burthened with the weight of their conscience; men of great numbers, of great riches (because the affairs of state have not  
lain

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lain on them,) of united minds (as all men that deem themselves oppressed naturally are,) with these I would willingly join all discontented persons, such as want and disgrace keep lower than they have set their hearts; such as have resolved what to look for at your hands; such, as *Caesar* said, *quibus opus est bello civili*, and are of his mind, *malo in acie, quam in foro cadere*. These be men so much the more to be doubted, because, as they do embrace all estates, so are they commonly of the bravest and wakefulest sort, and that know the advantage of the world most. This double rank of people, how their minds have stood, the northern rebellion, and infinite other practices, have well taught you; which if it be said it did not prevail, that is true, indeed, for if they had prevail'd, it were too late now to deliberate. But, at this present, they want nothing so much as a head, who in effect needs not but to receive their instructions, since they may do mischief only with his countenance. Let the *Siggingiam* in *Henry IV.*'s time, *Perkin Warbeck* in your Granfather's; but of all the most lively and proper, is that of *Lewis* the *French King's* son, in *Henry III.*'s time, who having at all no shew of title, yet did he cause the nobility and more to swear direct fealty and vassallage, and they delivered the strongest holds unto him. I say, let these be sufficient to prove, that occasion gives minds and scope to stranger things than ever would have been imagined. If then the affectionate side have their affections weakned, and the discontented have a gap to utter their discontent; I think it will seem an ill preparative for the patient, I mean your estate, to a great sickness.

Now

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Now the Agent Party, which is Monsieur, whether he be not apt to work upon the disadvantage of your estate, he is to be judg'd by his will and power: His will to be as full of light ambition as is possible, besides the *French* disposition, and his own education; his inconstant temper against his brother; his thrusting himself into the Low-Country matters; his sometimes seeking the King of *Spain's* daughter, sometimes your Majesty, are evident testimonies of his being carried away with every wind of hope, taught to love greatness any way gotten; and having for the motioners and ministers of the mind, only such young men, as have shewed they think evil contentment a ground of any rebellion, who have seen no commonwealth but in faction, and divers of which have defiled their hands in odious murders; with such fancies and favourites what is to be hoped for? or that he will contain himself within the limits of your conditions, since in truth it were strange, that he that cannot be contented to be the second person in *France*, and heir apparent, should be content to come to be second person, where he should pretend no way to sovereignty? His power, I imagine, is not to be despised, since he is come into a country, where the way of evil doing will be presented unto him; where there needs nothing but a head to draw together all the ill-affected members: Himself a Prince of great revenues, of the most popular nation of the world, full of souldiery, and such as are used to serve without pay, so as they may have shew of spoil; and, without question, shall have his brother ready to help him, as well for old revenge,



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as to divert him from troubling *France*, and to deliver his own country from evil humours. Neither is King *Philip's* marriage herein any example, since then it was between two of one religion, so that he in *England* stood only upon her strength, and had, abroad, King *Henry* of *France* ready to impeach any enterprize he should make for his greatness that way : And, yet, what events time would have brought forth of that marriage, your most blessed reign hath made vain all such considerations. But things holding in present state, I think I may easily conclude, that your country, as well by long peace, and fruits of peace, as by the poison of division (wherewith the faithful shall by this means be wounded, and the contrary enabled) made fit to receive hurt, and Monsieur being every way likely to use the occasions to hurt, there can almost happen no worldly thing of more eminent danger to your estate royal. And as to your person, in the scale of your happiness, what good there may come by it, to ballance with the loss of so honourable a constancy, truly, yet I perceive not. I will not shew so much malice, as to object the universal doubt, the races unhealthfulness, neither will I lay to his charge the ague-like manner of proceedings, sometimes hot and sometimes cold, in the time of pursuit, which always rightly is most fervent : And I will temper my speeches from any other unreverend disgracings of him in particular (though they might be never so true ;) this only will I say, that if he do come hither, he must live here in far less reputation than his mind will well brook, having no other royalty to countenance himself with ;



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with; or else you must deliver him the keys of your kingdom, and live at his discretion; or, lastly, he must be separate himself, with more dishonour and further disuniting of heart than ever before. Often have I heard you, with protestation, say, no private pleasure, nor self-affection could lead you unto it; but if it be both unprofitable for your kingdom, and unpleasant to you, certainly, it were a dear purchase of repentance; nothing can it add unto you, but the bliss of children, which I confess were a most unspeakable comfort; but yet no more appertaining unto him, than to any other, to whom the height of all good haps were allotted to be your husband; and therefore, I may assuredly affirm, that what good soever can follow marriage, is no more his than any bodies, but the evils and dangers are peculiarly annex'd to his person and condition. For, as for the enriching of your country with treasure, which either he hath not, or hath otherwise bestow'd it; or the staying of your servants minds with new expectations and liberality, which is more dangerous than fruitful; or the easing of your Majesty of cares, which is as much as to say, as the easing of you to be Queen and Sovereign; I think every body perceives this way to be full of hurt, or void of help. Now resteth to consider, what be the motives of this sudden change, as I have heard you in most sweet words deliver; fear of standing alone, in respect of foreign dealings; and in them, from whom you should have respect, doubt of contempt. Truly, standing alone, with good foresight of government, both in peace and warlike defence, is the honourablest thing that  
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can be to a well-establiſh'd monarchy; thoſe build-  
ings being ever moſt ſtrongly durable, which lean  
to none other, but remain from their own founda-  
tion.

So yet in the particulars of your eſtate at pre-  
ſent, I will not altogether deny that a true *Maf-  
ſiniſſa* were very fit to countermine the enterprize  
of mighty *Carthage*: But how this general  
truth can be applied to Monſieur, in truth I per-  
ceive not. The wiſeſt that have given beſt rules,  
where ſureſt leagues are to be made, have ſaid,  
that it muſt be between ſuch as either vehement de-  
ſire of a third thing, or as vehement fear doth knit  
their minds together. Deſire is counted the weak-  
er bond, but yet that bound ſo many Princes to  
the expedition of the *Holy Land*. It united that  
invincible *Henry V.* and that good Duke of *Bur-  
gundy*; the one deſiring to win the crown of *France*  
from the Dauphin, the other deſiring to revenge  
his father's murder upon the Dauphin, which both  
tended to one. That coupled *Lewis XII.* and  
*Ferdinando* of *Spain*, to the conqueſt of *Naples*. Of  
fear there are innumerable examples; Monſieur's  
deſires and yours, how they ſhould meet in publick  
matters, I think, no oracle can tell; for, as the  
geometricians ſay, that parallels, becauſe they main-  
tain divers lines, can never join; ſo truly two,  
having in the beginning contrary principles, to  
bring forth one doctrine, muſt be ſome miracle.  
He of the romiſh religion; and if he be a man,  
muſt needs have that manlike property, to deſire  
that all men be of his mind; you the erecter and  
defender of the contrary, and the only ſun that  
dazleth

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dazleth their eyes : He *French*, and desiring to make *France* great ; your Majesty *English*, and desiring nothing less than that *France* should grow great ; he, both by his own fancy and his youthful governors, embracing all ambitious hopes, having *Alexander's* Image in his head, but, perhaps, evil painted ; your Majesty with excellent virtue taught what you should hope, and by no less wisdom what you may hope, with a council renowned over all Christendom, for their well-temper'd minds, having set the utmost of their ambition in your favour, and the study of their souls in your safety.

Fear hath as little shew of outward appearance, as reason, to match you together ; for in this estate he is in, whom should he fear ? his brother ? alas ! his brother is afraid, since the King of *Navar* is to step into his place. Neither can his brother be the safer by his fall, but he may be the greater by his brother's ; whereto, whether you will be an accessory, you are to determine. The King of *Spain* certainly cannot make war upon him, but it must be upon all the crown of *France*, which is no likelihood he will do : Well may *Monsieur* (as he hath done) seek to enlarge the bounds of *France* upon this state ; which likewise, whether it be safe for you to be a countenance to, any other way, may be seen ; so that if neither desire nor fear be such in him, as are to bind any publick fastness, it may be said, that the only fortress of this your marriage is of his private affection, a thing too incident to the person laying it up in such knots.

The other objection of contempt in the subjects, I assure your Majesty, if I had heard it proceed  
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out of your Mouth, which of all other I do most dearly reverence, it would as soon (considering the perfections both of body and mind have set all men's eyes by the height of your estate) have come to the possibility of my imagination, if one should have told me on the contrary side, that the greatest Princess of the world should envy the state of some poor deform'd pilgrim. What is there either within you or without you, that can possibly fall into the danger of contempt, to whom fortunes are tied by so long descent of your royal ancestors? But our minds rejoyce with the experience of your inward virtues, and our eyes are delighted with the sight of you. But because your own eyes cannot see your self, neither can there be in the world any example fit to blaze you by, I beseech you vouchsafe to weigh the grounds thereof. The natural causes are length of government and uncertainty of succession: The effects, as you term them, appear by cherishing some abominable speeches, which some hellish minds have uttered. The longer a good Prince reigneth, it is certain the more he is esteem'd; there is no man ever was weary of well-being. And good encreased to good maketh the same good both greater and stronger; for it useth men to know no other cares, when either men are born in the Time, and so never saw other; or have spent much part of their flourishing time, and so have no joy to seek other; in evil Princes, abuse growing upon abuse, according to the nature of evil, with the increase of time ruins it self. But in so rare a government, where neighbour's fires give us light to see our quietness, where no-  
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thing wants, that true administration of Justice brings forth, certainly the length of time rather breeds a mind to think there is no other life but in it, than that there is any tediousness in so fruitful a government. Examples of good Princes do ever confirm this, who the longer they liv'd, the deeper they sunk into their subjects hearts. Neither will I trouble you with examples, being so many and manifest. Look into your own estate, how willingly they grant, and how dutifully they pay such subsidies, as you demand of them: How they are no less troublesome to your Majesty in certain requests, than they were in the beginning of your reign, and your Majesty shall find you have a people more than ever devoted to you.

As for the uncertainty of succession, although for mine own part I have cast the utmost anchor of my hope; yet for *England's* sake, I would not say any thing against such determination; but that uncertain good should bring contempt to a certain good, I think it is beyond all reach of reason; nay, because if there were no other cause (as there are infinite) common reason and profit would teach us to hold that Jewel dear, the loss of which would bring us to we know not what; which likewise is to be said of your Majesties speech of the rising sun, a speech first us'd by *Sylla* to *Pompey* in *Rome*, as then a popular City, where indeed men were to rise or fall, according to the flourish and breath of a many headed confusion. But in so lineal a monarchy, where ever the infants suck the love of their rightful Prince, who would leave the beams of so fair a sun, for the dreadful expectation



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tion of a divided company of stars? Virtue and justice are the only bonds of peoples love; and as for that point, many Princes have lost their crowns, whose own children were manifest successors; and some, that had their own children us'd as instruments of their ruine; not that I deny the bliss of children, but only to shew religion and equity to be of themselves sufficient stays. Neither is the love was born in the Queen your sister's days any contradiction hereunto; for she was the oppressor of that religion, which lived in many mens hearts, and whereof you were known to be the favourer; by her loss was the most excellent Prince in the world to succeed; by your loss all blindness light upon him, that sees not our misery. Lastly, and most properly for this purpose, she had made an odious marriage with a stranger (which is now in question whether your Majesty shall do or no) so that if your subjects do at this time look for any after chance, it is but as the pilot doth to the ship-boat, if his ship should perish; driven by extremity to the one, but as long as he can with his life, tending the other. And this I say, not only for the lively parts that be in you; but even for their own sakes, for they must needs see what tempests threaten them.

The last proof in this contempt should be the venomous matter certain men imposthum'd with wickedness should utter against you. Certainly, not to be evil spoken of, neither Christ's holiness, nor *Cesar's* might, could ever prevent or warrant; there being for that no other rule than so to do, as that they may not justly say evil of you; which

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whether your Majesty have not done, I leave it in you, to the sincereness of your own conscience and wisdom of your judgment; in the world, to your most manifest fruits and fame through *Europe*. *Augustus* was told, that men spake of him much hurt; *It is no matter*, said he, *so long as they cannot do much hurt*. And lastly, *Charles V.* to one that told him, *Les Hollandois parlent mal; mais ilz patient bien*, answer'd he. I might make a scholar-like reckoning of many such examples; it sufficeth that these great Princes knew well enough upon what way they flew, and cared little for the barking of a few currs: And truly in the behalf of your subjects, I durst with my blood answer it, that there was never monarch held in more precious reckoning of her people; and before God how can it be otherwise? For mine own part, when I hear some lost wretch hath defiled such a name with his mouth, I consider the right name of blasphemy, whose unbridled soul doth delight to deprave that, which is accounted generally most high and holy. No, no, most excellent Lady, do not raze out the impression you have made in such a multitude of hearts, and let not the scum of such vile minds bear any witness against your subjects devotions: which to proceed one point farther, if it were otherwise, could little be helped, but rather nourished, and in effect began by this. The only means of avoiding contempt are love and fear; love, as you have by divers means sent into the depth of their souls; so if any thing can thain so true a form, it must be the trimming your self, not in your own likeness, but in new colours  
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unto them; their fear by him cannot be encreas'd without the appearance of *French* forces, the manifest death of your estate; but well may it against him bear that face, which (as the tragick *Seneca* saith) *metus in authorem redit*; as because both in will and power he is like enough to do harm. Since then it is dangerous for your state, as well because by inward weakniess (principally caus'd by division) it is fit to receive harm; since to your person it can no way be comfortable, you not desiring marriage, and neither to person nor estate he is to bring any more good than any body; but more evil he may, since the causes that should drive you to this are either fears of that which cannot happen, or by this means cannot be prevented; I do with most humble heart say unto your Majesty (having assayed this dangerous help) for your standing alone, you must take it for a singular honour God hath done you, to be indeed the only protector of his church; and yet in worldly respects your kingdom very sufficient so to do, if you make that religion, upon which you stand, to carry the only strength, and have abroad those that still maintain the same course; who as long as they may be kept from utter falling, your Majesty is sure enough from your mightiest enemies.

As for this man, as long as he is but *Monsieur* in might, and a papist in profession, he neither can, nor will, greatly shield you; and if he grow to be king, his defence will be like *Ajax's* shield, which rather weigh'd them down, than defended those that bare it. Against contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent vir-

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tues of piety, justice and liberality, daily, if it be possible, more and more shine : Let such particular actions be found out (which be easie, as I think to be done) by which you may gratifye all the hearts of the people; let those in whom you find trust, and to whom you have committed trust, in your weighty affairs, be held up in the eyes of your subjects; lastly, doing as you do, you shall be as you be, the example of Princes, the ornament of this age, the comfort of the afflicted, the delight of your people, and the most excellent fruit of your progenitors, and the perfect mirror of your posterity.

### NUMB. VIII.

Lamb. *Lib. Mss. Fol. Vol.* 178.

*Whether her Majesty be bound by the word of God to assist the United Provinces against the King of Spain?*

THE question, I think, cannot be discussed by divinity, except it first be clear'd, whether their causes be just or not. If they be the King of *Spain's* subjects, then it is not lawful, I think, to assist them, altho' they pretend the cause of religion. For if her Majesties subjects in *Ireland* should rebel, pretending a cause of religion, it would be thought an injury, if the King of *Spain* should assist them. *Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris.* This rule holdeth as well among Princes in respect

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respect of their dealings one with another, as among private men.

If the assisting of them in this case might apparently advance the cause of religion; yet were it lawfull, *facere malum, ut inde veniat bonum*? Rom. iii. ver. 8. God is both able and willing I doubt not to defend his own cause by lawfull means.

If it be objected, that as many as profess christian religion be all members of one body, and must accordingly be relieved; it is true in a good sense. But we are either called members of one spiritual body, and so Christ is our head, whose doctrine must direct our charity; Or else all Christians are several members of several politick bodies, the heads whereof are the magistrates. And in this case the head of one body may not assist the feet of another against the head. For it were to invert the order of nature.

The papists hold, that subjects by the Pope's direction may take arms against their Princes. But Christian religion never maintained any such doctrine.

If they be not the King of *Spain's* subjects, but do lawfully seek to maintain themselves and the cause of religion against such a tyranny, and do pray assistance of her Majesty; then I think they ought to be relieved. *Omnia quaecunque vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, ita & vos facite illis.* Mat. vii.

If it be objected, that the assisting of them may endanger her Majesty; yet considering the necessity and manifest peril, if overthrown, both of them [are in] and their just cause, I think her Highness



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is to depend upon the providence of God and bound to assist them. For God will ever defend those, that are more carefull of his glory, than of their own estate. *Primum querite regnum Dei, & reliqua omnia adjicientur vobis*, Mat. vi.

This last clause doth admitt this exception; that if the assisting of them and the cause of religion in those countries be as it were an evident endangering of the cause of God in our own, especially the maintenance of religion here being of greater importance to God's glory, than the maintenance of it there, then her Majesty is not so bound. *For ordinaria charitas incipit à seipso*.

If the question were, whether all the protestant Princes were bound to joyn their forces against the tyranny of the Pope and the Spaniards considering their league and purpose, I think it were not only lawfull, but very necessary.

## N U M B. IX.

### *The Project for the Government.*

*What is fit to be establish'd for the better government of the United Provinces, in case the Earl of Leicester should not return to take the government of these countries.*

**F**IRST, forasmuch as it is greatly to be fear'd, that the return of the Earl of *Leicester* (in respect of the secret hatred and mislike that is born unto him by the great Personages and States General

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ral of these countries, and the fear they conceive of revenge in respect of the bad letter to him by them sent on the 4th of *Feb.* last) may renew the garboils and divisions among the provinces and towns, to the apparent hazard and ruine of the whole state, and that the same cannot be preserved but by placing the authority absolute in a sole Governour of the *English* nation to command both policy and wars; it is therefore thought necessary, that there be choice made by her Majesty of a sufficient man, being of quality, wisdom and direction, furnished with authority to govern them, according to such commission, as he shall receive as well from her Majesty as the States General.

And because, if the Earl of *Leicester* shall not return, your choice and preparation of such a person will require some time before he can be established in that place, during the which it may be doubted that the state may receive damage and offence by the Enemy; it will be therefore requisite, that the government as well of the wars as of the policy, with regard to the present state of the countries, be provisionally settled in the council of state, to be compounded of persons qualified; in which council, besides the assistants, on the behalf of her Majesty, it will be necessary some special person of quality, that is sufficiently languaged, either with *Dutch*, *French*, or *Latin*, (without which it is not possible for him to deal in these affairs) be with all speed sent hither as Ambassador for her Majesty, and to be appointed as president of the said council authorised from her Majesty, to interpose her authority and countenance in all things that

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shall concern the weal and defence of the countries; and the same Ambassador, to have likewise, by act or commission from the States, power and authority on their behalf, with the advice and assistance of the said council, to manage the government of the whole state for the time; and he to have, in all the resolutions to be taken by the council, a voice negative, for the preventing of partial proceedings on the behalf of the council against her Majesty, whose manner is to carry all their resolutions by plurality of suffrages.

*Item*, That the President and Council of state have the same authority, that was left with the council at the departure of the Earl of *Leicester*, for the nominating and appointing of a general and chief commander of your forces in the field; and he from the said President and Council to have a commission provisional for that charge at such time as they shall think fit to put force or army into the field.

And for that it may be fear'd, that the appointing of such a man may breed emulation and division among the personages, that are fit to take the charge here, and especially between the Count *Hohenlo* and Sir *John Norris*, (albeit by the contract between her Majesty and the States it be meant, that he that shall command her Majesty's forces in the field ought likewise to have the commandment of the force of the country in the same place) and that without all exception, Sir *John Norris*, for his valour, skill, and wisdom, is to be preferred before all men in that case; yet it may be so ordered, that this charge may diversly, and at several

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veral times, and in several places, be laid upon them both separately, without offence to either of them; as in case the enemy should put his forces against us on the farther side of the *Maese*, in that frontier, where the Count *Hobenlo* hath his chief quarters, and towns at his commandment; and if it be found requisite to make head against the enemy in that place, there may the Count *Hobenlo* command the army, and Sir *John Norris* serve under him as his Lieutenant, which now upon their reconciliation Sir *John* will not refuse to do, and hath done the like heretofore.

*Item*, If the wars in the field be prosecuted in the quarters of *Guelders*, *Overyssel*, and *Frieze*, there Sir *John Norris* to have the absolute charge, who for his reputation among the governors of those provinces, shall be obey'd without emulation of them, or offence to Count *Hobenlo*; where in respect of their unfeigned reconciliation, and that the said Count hath heretofore ranged himself under Sir *John Norris's* commandment, it is not doubted but that he will do the like again.

And whereas it may be supposed, that the Count *Maurice*, in respect of his birth and place, would affect the chief commandment of the wars in these countries, it is found by experience had of his humour, and the small desire he hath to follow the wars, that there will be no doubt of his entring into competency with the two above-named; howbeit regard is to be had, that in his government of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *West Frieze*, his authority of Governor be preserved unto him; saving only, that whereas of late, the States of *Holland*, by  
a placart

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a placart published, have prohibited, that the garrisons within his said government should not be transposed nor altered, but by him, or his Lieutenant the Count *Hobenlo*, and that no man of war should enter into the limits of his several governments, but by his patent and provision, it will be now specially requisite and provided, that the disposing of all garrisons and men of war be left to the authority of the said President and Council of State.

*Item*, That all commissions and dispatches may be sign'd by the aforesaid Ambassador, as president of the council of state, and chief in authority amongst them, for the time of this kind of government, and the same commissions and dispatches to be also paraphed by one of the Council of State, and subsigned by a secretary of the Council; and that nothing be done or concluded in any matter concerning the government, but in full assembly of the Council.

*Item*, That her Majesty do appoint the order for the issuing of her Majesty's treasure; wherein it may be remembred, that warrants for pays ordinary, and of certainty, are fittest to be signed by one; the other of discretion, as distribution of checks, and such like, to be done by two at the least.

*Item*, That the treasure of the States be issued by warrants of the Council of State, with the consent of her Majesty's said Ambassador.

*Item*, That if this course of government for the time shall be allow'd of by her Majesty, and assented unto by the States General (whereof there is no doubt



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doubt to be made on their behalf) then in the settling and establishing thereof divers other things are to be considered in particular, which shall concern the advantage of her Majesty and her subjects, which now for brevity is here omitted.

Finally, this form of government may be established and settled here, (as it is affirm'd,) within fifteen days after the knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure and resolution to be taken in that behalf; so as if speedy resolution come from *England*, things there will be confirm'd with great expedition.

Most humbly beseeching her Majesty, unto whose most prudent censure with all humility I submit this plot and project, to pardon all imperfections and defects within the same, which being done in so short time, and built upon the foundation of so weak skill and judgment, as in us here, and by her Majesty required to be done with speed, may therefore seem the rather to deserve the same.



NUMB.

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### NUMB. X.

*An Extraēt from the answer of the States of Holland assembled at Harlem, to the memorial presented by the Ministers in the name of the Dutch and Walloon churches.*

**T**HAT ever since the beginning of the war, they (the *States*) had used their utmost endeavours for preserving and promoting the welfare of these countries, by maintaining the Christian reform'd religion, together with the liberties, privileges, and laudable customs of the said countries. In which path they had hitherto walked no less stedfastly in adversity than in prosperity, without suffering themselves to be diverted by any force or offers of accommodation; and they did not doubt but the almighty God would on that account be yet mercifull to these provinces, and give them a happy issue out of all their troubles: That it was for these reasons they had summon'd several of the ministers before *Whitsuntide* last, and acquainted them with it, to the end that they and their brethren might be easy under these assurances, and proceed in the faithfull discharge of the functions belonging to them, and promote unity and peace among the people: That it was very agreeable to the said States, that all who were well affected to the government, and especially the ministers of God's word, should remonstrate, or represent to them whatever they thought

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thought conducive to the good of the nation: That it was no small subject of grief to all good Christians and lovers of their countrey; and consequently to the States themselves, that the course of our advantages against the common enemy of the land, and of the church of Christ, had been stopt these last four years, and that the good cause had suffered so much. But that besides the general reason, which was our sins, they (the *States*) could think of no other, unless it were that some persons, even in the highest stations, as well as others, had under the cloak of an extraordinary zeal for the reform'd religion insinuated themselves first into the government of the neighbouring provinces; and having drawn into their party some of the principal ministers of the word of God, had kindled the fire of discord, endeavouring a long time both openly and secretly to render suspected and odious to the community that brave Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, who had sacrific'd his life and fortune for the service of those provinces. And having attain'd that end, they had discover'd what they drove at, by the surrender of whole countries and towns, and by the loss of our religion and liberties. — And though many of those people that had been in the magistracy, as also some ministers of the holy word (whose hypocrisy and treachery were too well understood) had deserted to the common enemy, forsaking the true Christian religion; yet was it greatly to be feared, that many others, who had not yet acted the same part so publickly, had yet diffus'd themselves, like sparks of the same fire of discord, through *Holland*,

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*land, Zealand, and others of the United Provinces, and creeping into the government both of church and state, under the like cloak of religion, would fain bring these provinces into the same condition to which they had reduc'd their own; but that perceiving the States of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, with the Princes of the house of Nassaw, and their friends, to stand in their way, they endeavour'd to render those of the said house, the nobility, gentry, and magistracy of the said provinces, and other persons of unshaken fidelity, suspected and odious to the community, and to all the world; and to ruin the nation by projecting strange and unusual methods of governing, and by sowing and cultivating jealousies and discord. It was for this, as the States believed, that there had been such writing, such posting and sending to and fro, such pains taken day and night, and such scandalous seducing of many simple and harmless people, who (if not timely warn'd and brought into the right way) would repent it when it was too late, and matters past remedying; of which there had been such fresh and obvious instances in other towns and provinces, that it was very amazing, that many people, and particularly some of the ministers of God's word, made no better use of the warning. The States firmly believ'd, that the Queen of *England* would never suffer the laudable alliance made between her Majesty and these provinces to fall to the ground, nor separate from their interest, only because they (*the States*) desir'd to maintain and defend that for which they had entered into the war, that which had cost the lives*

of

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of so many thousands of men, the destruction of so many towns and countries, and for the preservation of which her Majesty's assistance had been desir'd and promis'd. — And it was very much to be fear'd, that those, who spoke loudest in favour of his Excellency the Earl of *Leicester's* authority, aimed at the same end, which had been seen accomplish'd in *Flanders*, in begetting such an aversion to the Prince of *Orange*, of glorious memory, and to the States of *Holland*; or at least, that their view was to promote their own credit and interest, and to bring about by their own power, and according to their fancies, by irregular means, what ought to be done with a good and mutual agreement by the general and provincial States, and by the stadtholders, governours, and other inferiour magistrates in their particular districts and stations. — Lastly, they desired the aforesaid persons and all other ministers of the word of God, as they tendered their duty, that they would direct all their actions to unity, and to the edification or building up of the church of Christ; that they would take warning by the destruction of the churches in *Flanders*, and avoid the rocks which they had split upon; as also that they would beg of God to preserve all people both high and low from steering the same course, and that every one would peaceably discharge his respective function, for promoting the welfare and happiness of the nation.

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### N U M B. XI.

*The grievances pretended by the Conspirators of Leyden. See Brandt's Hist. &c. lib. 14.*

**T**HAT the magistrates of *Leyden*, in order to oppose the national synod of the United Provinces, summon'd at the *Hague* by the Earl of *Leicester*, had forbidden the consistory of their town to depute any body to the provincial synod, which was call'd to sit at *Rotterdam*. And that upon the remonstrances of the ministers, and other persons of the consistory, shewing that they were oblig'd to comply with the orders of the Earl of *Leicester* their governour, *John Johnson Baerdop*, the then ruling Burgomaster, made answer, "That in this matter they had nothing to do with him," and that the magistrates of *Leyden* owned no body's authority in summoning such assemblies, but that of the States in their lawfull meetings. Whereas, on the contrary, the late Prince of *Orange* had twice convened such a national synod, and the States of *Holland*, though desired, would not send any of their deputies thither, nor declare the said synods to be holden by their authority, but left it to the Prince to do as he pleased. That private synods had been holden in *Holland* yearly, both before and since, without any order or interposition of the States. That the Magistrates of *Leyden* had

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had introduc'd, maintain'd, and hir'd, *Jasper Koolbaes*, and *Peter Hakkius*, heterodox teachers, and enemies to Christian discipline, in order (as *Hakkius* himself afterwards owned) to bring the church into confusion, forbidding them to use the same discipline as other churches. That they, the said magistrates, sought to force upon all other churches a particular model of government; nay, that *Peter Adrianfon*, *Vander Werf*, and *Hakkius*, and *Koolbaes*, had often boasted, that *Leyden* should be the pattern for the whole province. That on the 22d of *May* last, *Hakkius* had the confidence to say in a full consistory, that the magistrates of *Leyden*, as they had resisted the *Spaniard* and the *French*, would also put a stop to the haughtiness of the *English*; adding these words, " *Paul Buis* was here yesterday, and advised the magistrates not to behave themselves like women, but timely to oppose the Earl's designs. And so they are resolved to do at *Leyden*, though there should not remain one stone upon another. We will rather return to the *Spanish* Inquisition, than admitt the discipline of *Geneva*, that pocky whore. Thus have I sometimes expressed my self in the pulpit, said *Hakkius*, and the magistrates commended me for it. He farther added, that burgomasters *Vander Werf* and *Baersdorp* had exhorted him to acquit himself courageously, for they would stand by him. That he had been desired to take his oath upon it, but had promised it by giving his hand. That when these things were represented to the burgomasters, they shifted the matter, without giving *Hakkius* the least reprimand, but expressly ordering in writing,

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that no words should be made about it, or they would turn all the ministers out of the town. Against this the clergy had oppos'd a remonstrance, shewing the injustice that had been done them, to which no reply was made. That when *Hakkius* had been suspended from the exercise of his ministry on account of the false and seditious sermons which he preach'd both against the *English* and against the church, he and *Koolbaes* were still continued in pay. That the famous and learned *Donnellus* had been depos'd from his employment, for his honesty, for his zeal for religion, the *English* interest, and the welfare of the land. That *Saravia* was likewise persecuted by them. That a certain jesuit or papist, nam'd *Affendelf*, was allowed to keep a publick School, and that the Jesuits catechism was taught in it, and the Burgo-master *Vander Werf* had sent his son thither. That at the last election of the magistrates, most of the reform'd were set aside, and papists or apostates from our religion chosen in their stead. That Burgo-master *Baersdorp* had not scrupled to declare, that "let him go to church and dissemble as much as he would, yet if he were to be open'd, they should find a double catholick in his heart." That another had publickly said, "that it was not a farthing odds, whether he were of the *Spanish* or *English* religion." That when a certain letter and memorial sent from the Earl of *Leicester* to all the towns was read in the Senate of *Leyden*, *Vander Werf* should say, "It was the custom under the old law, for people to rend their cloaths at the hearing of blasphemy; and he was sure  
" that

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“ that here was sufficient reason to do so.” That the hatred conceiv’d against the true religion and the governour had not only taken deep root in the hearts of the magistrates of *Leyden*, but likewise in the hearts of some of the principal members of the States of *Holland*. This appear’d by their whole conduct towards the *English*. That afterwards they suffered the town of *Sluys* to fall into the hands of the enemy. And as things were then dispos’d, all the United Provinces were by their discords e’er long, one after another, likely to fall again under the yoke of *Spain*. That all these miseries sprung from the hatred to the true christian faith, the clergy and consistories, and from the contempt of the Queen of *England*, the Earl of *Leicester*, and the people of that nation. To obviate all which, his Excellency ought to be re-establish’d in that first authority, which the States General had tendered him at his arrival.



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— N U M B. XII.

Rymer. Foed. &c. Tom. XVI. p. 18. *Ex autogr. Bibl. Cotton. Calig. D. 1. F. 420.*

*Super destructione Armatae (vocatee Invincibilis) Hispanicae, litterae Jacobi Regis Scotorum ad Elizabetham Reginam gratulatoriae.*

*Madame and derrist Sister,*

**I**N times of strattis trewe frendis are best tryit. Now merit is he thankes of you and your countrey, who kythis himself a friend to yor countrey and estate, and so this tyme must move me to utter my zeale to the religion, and how neir a kinsman and neighbor I find my self to zow and zor countrey.

For this effect then have I send zow this present, heirby to offer unto zow my forces, my person, and all that I may command, to be imployit against<sup>a</sup> strangers in whatsumever facion, and by whatsumever meane as may best serve for the defence of your countrey, wherein I promis to behave my self not as a stranger and forein Prince, bot as your naturall son, and compatriot of your countrey in all respectis. Now, Madame, to conclude, as on the one part, I must hartlie thank zow for

<sup>a</sup> Write, against --- strangers.



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yor honourable begynning by yor Ambassadors in offres for my satisfaction, so, on the other part, I pray zow to send presentlie doun commissioners for the perfyting of the same, quhilk I protest I desyre not for that I wold have the reward to preceid the desertis, bot onely that I with honour, and all my guid subjects with a fervent gud will, may imbrace this zor godlie and honest cause, wharby zor adversaries may have ado not with *England*, but with the whole Isle of *Britaine*.

Thus praying you to despeche all yor matters with all possible speed, and wishing yow a successe convenient to those that ar invadit by Goddis professed enemies, I commit, madame and dearest sister, your person, estate, and countrey to the blessed protection of the Almightye.

*Your most loving and affectionat  
brother and cousyn, as tyme shall now trye,*

From *Edinburgb* the  
fourth of *August*  
1588.

JAMES R.

### *Reginæ responsio ad Litteras prædictas.*

NOW may appeare, my deare brother, how inalyce joyned with might stryves to make a shamefull end to a vyllanus begynninge. For, by Goddes singular favour, having theyr fleet weell beaten in our narrow seas, and pressing with all vyolence to atchieve some watering place to continew their pretended invasions, the winds have

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carried them to yor costes, where I doubt not they shall receive small succour and less welcom, unless those Lordes, that so traiterouslyke would busye their own Prince, and promise an other Kyng releife in yor name, be suffred to lyve at libertye to dishonor youe <sup>b</sup>peryll and advance some other (which God forbyd youe suffer them lyve to do) therefore I send youe this Gentleman, a rare tongueman and wyse, to declare unto you my full opynion in this great cause, as one that never will abuse youe to serve any own turn, nor wyll youe do ought that my self would not performe, if I were in your place.

Yowe may assure your self, that, for my part, I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannicall prowde and brainfyck attempt wil be the begynninge, though not the end, of the ruyn of that King, that most unkingly, even in the midst of treating peace, begynnes this wrongfull warr; he hathe procured my greatest glory, that meant my forist wrack, and hathe so dymmed the light of his sonneshyne, that who hath a will to obtayne shame, let them keepe his forces companye.

But for all this, for your best sake, let not the frendes of *Spayne* be suffered to yeld them force, for although I feare not in the end the sequel, yet if by having them unhelp'd you may increase the *English* hartes unto you, you shall not do the worst deede for your behalfe, for, if ought should be doune, your excuse will play the Boyteux, if yow make not <sup>c</sup>worke with the lykely men to do

<sup>b</sup> Write, *peryll* ---- and *advance*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Write, *not* ---- *worke with*, &c.

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it, looke well unto it I beseeche you, the necessity of this matter makes my scrybbleing the more speedy, hoping yow will measure my good affection with the right ballance of my actions, which to yow shall be ever suche as I have professed, not doubting of the recyprocque of your behalf, according as my last messenger unto yow hath at large signified, for the which I render you a myllion of grateful thanks, together for the last general prohibition to your subjects not to foster or ayde our generall foe, of which I doubt not the observations, if the ringleaders be safe in your hands, as knoweth God, who ever have yow in his blessed keeping, with many happy yeares of

*Your most assured loving*

*sister and coosin,*

ELIZABETH R.

## NUM B. XIII.

*The Patent for creating Alice Lady  
Dudley a Dutcheſs of England.*

**C**HARLES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all Archbishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, and all other our loving subjects, to whom these our letters shall come, greeting. Whereas, in or about the beginning of the reign of our dear

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Father King *James*, of famous memory, there was a sute commenced, in our high court of star-chamber, against Sir *Robert Dudley* Knight and others, for pretending himself to be lawfull heir to the honours and lands of the earldoms of *Warwick* and *Leicester*, as son and heir of the body of *Robert* late Earl of *Leicester*, lawfully begotten upon the Lady *Douglass* his mother, wife to the late Earl of *Leicester*, and all proceedings stayed in the ecclesiastical courts, in which the said sute depended, for proof of his legitimation: yet nevertheless did the said court vouchsafe liberty to the said Sir *Robert*, to examine witnesses in the said court of star-chamber, in order to the making good of his legitimacy; divers witnesses were examin'd there accordingly. Whereupon, by full testimony upon oath, partly made by the said Lady *Douglass* her self, and partly made by divers other persons of quality and credit, who were present at the marriage with the said late Earl of *Leicester*, by a lawfull minister, according to the form of matrimony, then by law established in the church of *England*; and the said Sir *Robert* and his mother, owned by the said late Earl of *Leicester*, as his lawfull wife and son, as by many of the said depositions, remaining upon record, in our said court, still appear, which we have caused to be perused, for our better satisfaction herein. But a special order being made that the said depositions should be seal'd up, and no copies thereof taken without leave, did cause him the said Sir *Robert* to leave this our Kingdom; whereof his adversaries taking advantages procured a special privy-seal

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seal to be sent unto him, commanding his return into *England*, which he not obeying (because his honour and lands were denied unto him) all his lands were therefore seized on to the King our father's use.

And not long afterwards, Prince *Henry* (our dear brother deceas'd) made overture to the said Sir *Robert*, by special instruments to obtain his title by purchase of and in *Kenilworth Castle*, in our county of *Warwick*, and his mannors, parks, and chases belonging to the same; which, upon a great undervalue, amounted (as we are credibly inform'd) to about fifty thousand pounds; but were bought by the Prince our brother, in consideration of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds, and upon his faithfull engagement and promise of his princely favour unto the said Sir *Robert* in the said cause, to restore him both in honours and fortunes. And thereupon certain deeds were seal'd in the ninth year of the reign of our said father, and fines also then were levied, settling the inheritance thereof in the said Prince, our brother, and his heirs.

But, the said Prince our brother departing this life, there was not above three thousand pounds of the said sum of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds ever paid (if any at all) to the said Sir *Robert's* hands; and we our selves, as heir to the said Prince our brother, came to the possession thereof.

And, it appearing to our council, that the said *Alice Lady Dudley*, wife of the said Sir *Robert*, had an estate of inheritance of and in the same descen-



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descendable unto her posterity; in the nineteenth year of our said dear Father's reign an act of Parliament was pass'd to enable the said Lady *Alice*, wife to the said Sir *Robert* to alien her estate, which she had by the said Sir *Robert* therein, from her children by the said Sir *Robert*, as if she had been a *feme sole*, which accordingly she did in the nineteenth year of our said Fathers reign, in consideration of four thousand pounds, and further payments yearly to be made by us to her, out of our Exchequer, and out of the said *Castles* and *Lands*, which have not been accordingly paid unto her by us, for many years, to the damage of the said Lady *Alice*, and her Children, to a very great value.

Which Sir *Robert* settling himself in *Italy*, within the territories of the Great Duke of *Tuscany* (from whom he had extraordinary esteem) he was so much favoured by the Emperor *Ferdinand* the II. as that being a person, not only eminent for his great learning and blood, but for sundry rare endowments (as was best known) he had, by letters, patents from his Imperial Majesty the title of Duke given unto him; to be used by himself and his heirs for ever, throughout all the dominions of the sacred Empire. Which letters patents have been perused by our late Earl-Marshal and Heralds.

And, whereas our dear Father, not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of the said Sir *Robert* (as we piously believe) granted away the titles of the said Earldoms to others, which we now hold not fit to call in question, nor ravel into our deceased Fathers actions; especially they having been so long enjoyed by those families, to whom the honours were granted (which we do not intend to alter :) And yet, we  
having

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having a very deep sense of the great injuries done to the said Sir *Robert Dudley*, and the Lady *Alice Dudley*, and their children; and, that we are of opinion, that in justice and equity these possessions so taken from them, do rightly belong unto them, or full satisfaction for the same; and holding our selves in honour and conscience obliged to make them reparation now, as far as our present ability will enable us; and also, taking into our consideration the said great estate, which she the said Lady *Alice Dudley* had in *Kenilworth*, and sold at our desire to us at a very great undervalue, and yet not perform'd or satisfied, to many thousand pounds damage.

And, we also casting our princely eye upon the faithful services done unto us by Sir *Richard Leveson* Knt. of the *Bath*, who hath married the Lady *Katherine*, one of the daughters of the said Duke, by his said wife, the said Lady *Alice Dudley*; and also the great services, which *Robert Holburne*, Esq; hath done to us, by his learned pen and otherwise (which said *Robert Holburne* hath married the Lady *Anne*, one other of the daughters of the said Duke, by his said wife, the Lady *Alice Dudley* :) We have conceived our selves bound in honour and conscience, to give the said Lady *Alice* and her children such honour and precedencies, as is or are due to them in marriage or blood. And therefore we do not only give and grant, unto the said Lady *Alice Dudley*, the title of Dutcheß *Dudley* for her life, in *England* and other our realms and dominions, with such precedencies, as she might have had, if she had liv'd in the dominions of the sacred Empire, (as a mark of our  
favour

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favour unto her; and out of our prerogative royal, which we will not have drawn into dispute;) but we do also farther grant unto the said Lady *Katherine*, and Lady *Anne*, her daughters, the places, titles, and precedencies of the said Dukes daughters, as from that time of their said Father's creation, during their respective lives, not only in *England*, but in all other our kingdoms and dominions, as a testimony of our princely favour and grace unto them; conceiving our selves oblig'd to do much more for them, if it were in our power, in these unhappy times of distraction.

And we require all persons of honour, and other our loving subjects, especially our Earl Marshall, Heralds, and officers at arms, to take notice of this our princely pleasure, and to govern themselves accordingly; and to cause the said places and precedencies to be quietly enjoyed, according to this our gracious intention, as they do tender our displeasure, and will answer the contempt thereof at their perils. And we farther command and require, that our said Heralds do make entry of this our pleasure and grant in their offices accordingly. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness our self at *Oxford*, the three and twentieth day of *May*, in the twentieth year of our reign.



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